# *Saducismus Triumphatus:*

OR,

Full and Plain EVIDENCE

Concerning

# WITCHES

AND

# APPARITIONS.

In Two PARTS.

The First treating of their

## POSSIBILITY,

The Second of their Real

## EXISTENCE.

By *Joseph Glanvil* late Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty, and Fellow of the Royal Society.

With a Letter of Dr. *HENRY MORE* on the same Subject.

And an Authentick, but wonderful story of certain *Swedish* Witches; done into English by *Anth. Horneck* Preacher at the *Savoy*.

*LONDON:* Printed for *J. Collins* at his Shop under the *Temple*-Church, and *S. Lownds* at his Shop by the *Savoy*-gate, 1681.

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TO THE

Right Reverend Father in God

# SETH

Lord Biſhop of

# SARUM,

Chancellor of the GARTER.

This New and Compleated EDITION

OF

*Saduciſmus Triumphatus*

Is moſt humbly Dedicated to your Lordſhip,

By,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhips moſt Obliged and

Humble Servant

(The PUBLISHER)

*James Collins.*

# THE PUBLISHER TO THE READER.

Reader,

*THat thou haſt no ſooner enjoyed this long-expected Edition, thou canſt not juſtly blame either the Author or my ſelf. Not my ſelf, for I could not publiſh the book before I had it; nor the Author, becauſe many unexpected occaſions drove off his mind to other matters, and interrupted him in his preſent deſign, inſomuch that he was ſnatcht away by Death before he had quite finiſhed it. But though the learned World may very well lament the loſs of ſo able and ingenious a Writer, yet as to this preſent point, if that may mitigate thy ſorrow, in all likelihood this Book had not ſeen the light ſo ſoon if he had lived, ſo many emergent occaſions giving him new interruptions, and offering him new temptations to further delay.*

*Indeed it had been deſirable that it might have had the poliſhing of his laſt hand, as the peruſer of his Papers ſignifies in his laſt* Advertiſement. *But to compenſate this loſs, the ſaid Peruſer, a friend as well to his* Deſign *as to his* Perſon, *has digeſted thoſe Materials he left, into that order and diſtinctneſs, and has ſo tied things together, and ſupplied them in his* Advertiſements, *that, to the judicious Reader, no-*

*thing can ſeem wanting that may ſerve the ends of his intended Treatiſe. Not to intimate what conſiderable things are added, more than it is likely had been, if he had finiſhed it himſelf: For, beſides the* Advertiſements *of the careful Peruſer of his Papers, and that notable late* Story *of the* Swediſh Witches *tranſlated out of* German *into the* Engliſh *Tongue, there is alſo added a ſhort* Treatiſe of the true and genuine Notion of a Spirit, *taken out of Dr.* More's Enchiridion Metaphyſicum, *to entertain thoſe that are more curious ſearchers into the nature of theſe things.*

*The* Number *alſo of the* Stories *are much increaſed above what was deſigned by Mr.* Glanvil, *though none admitted, but ſuch as ſeemed very well atteſted and highly credible to his aboveſaid Friend, and ſuch, as rightly underſtood, contain nothing but what is conſonant to right Reaſon and ſound Philoſophy, as I have heard him earneſtly avouch, though it had been too tedious to have explained all; and it may be more grateful to the Reader to be left to exerciſe his own wit and ingeny upon the reſt. Theſe are the* advantages *this Edition of Mr.* Glanvil's Dæmon *of* Tedworth, *and his* Conſiderations about Witchcraft *have, above any Edition before, though the laſt of them was ſo bought up, that there was not a Copy of them to be had in all* London *and* Cambridge, *but the Peruſer of his Papers was fain to break his own to ſerve the Preſs with; If theſe intimations may move thy Appetite to the reading ſo* pleaſant *and* uſeful *a Treatiſe.*

*And*

*And yet I can add one thing more touching the story of the* Dæmon *of* Tedworth *which is very considerable. It is not for me indeed to take notice of that* meanness *of spirit in the* Exploders *of* Apparitions *and* Witches, *which very strangely betrayed it self in the decrying of that well-attested Narrative touching the Stirrs in Mr.* Mompesson's *house. Where, although they that came to be Spectators of the marvelous things there done by some* invisible Agents, *had all the liberty imaginable (even to the ripping of the Bolsters open) to search and try if they could discover any natural cause or cunning Artifice whereby such strange feats were done; and numbers that had free access from day to day, were abundantly satisfied of the reality of the thing, that the house was* haunted *and disturbed by* Dæmons *or* Spirits; *yet some few years after the Stirrs had ceased, the truth of this story lying so uneasie in the minds of the disgusters of such things, they raised a Report, (when none of them, no not the most diligent and curious could detect any trick or fraud themselves in the matter) that both Mr.* Glanvil *himself, who published the* Narrative, *and Mr.* Mompesson, *in whose house these wonderful things happened, had confessed the whole matter to be a Cheat and Imposture. And they were so diligent in spreading abroad this gross untruth, that it went currant in all the three Kingdoms of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland. *An egregious discovery of what kind of Spirit this sort of men are! which, as I said, though it be not for me to take notice of, yet I will not stick to*

*signifie*

*ſigniſie* (*it being both for mine own Intereſt and the Intereſt of Truth*) *that thoſe Reports raiſed touching Mr.* Glanvil *and Mr.* Mompeſſon, *are by the preſent Edition of this Book demonſtrated to be falſe to all the world. That concerning Mr.* Glanvil, *by his* Preface *to the ſecond Part of the Book; That touching Mr.* Mompeſſon, *by* two Letters *of his own, the one to Mr.* Glanvil, *the other to my ſelf, which are ſubjoyned to the ſaid* Preface: *Which thing alone may juſtly be deemed to add a very great weight to the value, as of that Story, ſo of this preſent Edition.*

*But I will not, upon pretence of exciting thy Appetite, keep thee from the ſatisfying it by an overlong Preface: which yet if it may ſeem to be defective in any thing, the Doctors Letter* (*where amongſt other things you ſhall meet with that famous and well-atteſted ſtory of the Apparition of* Anne Walker's *Ghoſt to the Miller*) *will, I hope make an abundant ſupply. I ſhall add nothing more my ſelf, but that I am*

Your humble Servant

J. C.

# Dr. *H. M.* his LETTER
WITH THE
# POSTSCRIPT,
To Mr. *J. G.*

Minding him of the great Expedience and Uſefulneſs of his new intended Edition of the *Dæmon* of *Tedworth*, and briefly repreſenting to him the marvellous weakneſs and gullerie of Mr. *Webſter*'s *Diſplay of Witchcraft.*

*SIR,*

*Hen I was laſt at* London, *I called on your Book-ſeller, to know in what forwardneſs this new intended Impreſſion of the ſtory of the* Dæmon *of* Tedworth *was, which will undeceive the world touching hat Fame generally ſpread abroad, as if Mr.* Mompeſſon *and your ſelf had acknowledged the*

 *buſineſs*

*buſineſs to have been a meer Trick or Impoſture. But the Story, with your ingenious* Conſiderations about Witchcraft, *being ſo often printed already, he ſaid, it behoved him to take care how he ventured on a new Impreſſion, unleſs he had ſome new matter of that kind to adde, which might make this new Edition the more certainly ſalable; and therefore he expected the iſſue of that noiſed ſtory of the Spectre at* Exeter, *ſeen ſo oft for the diſcovering of a Murther committed ſome thirty years ago. But the event of this buſineſs, as to juridical proceſs, not anſwering expectation, he was diſcouraged from making uſe of it, many things being reported to him from thence in favour to the party moſt concerned. But I told him a ſtory of one Mrs.* Britton *her appearing to her Maid after her death, very well atteſted, though not of ſuch a Tragical kind as that of* Exeter, *which he thought conſiderable.*

*But of Diſcoveries of Murther I never met with any ſtory more plain and unexceptionable than that in Mr.* John Webſter *his* Diſplay of ſuppoſed Witchcraft. *The Book indeed it ſelf, I confeſs, is but a weak and impertinent piece; but that ſtory weighty and convincing, and ſuch as himſelf (though otherwiſe an affected Caviller againſt almoſt all ſtories of* Witchcraft *and* Apparitions) *is conſtrained to aſſent to, as you ſhall ſee from his own confeſſion. I ſhall for your better eaſe, or becauſe you haply may not have the Book, tranſcribe it out of the Writer himſelf,*

*though*

*though it be ſomething long,* Chap. 16. Page 298.

*About the year of our Lord* 1632, (*as near as I can remember, having loſt my Notes and the Copy of the Letter to Serjeant* Hutton, *but am ſure that I do moſt perfectly remember the ſubſtance of the ſtory*) *near unto* Cheſter in the Street, *there lived one* Walker *a Yeoman-man of good eſtate, and a Widower, who had a young Woman to his Kinſwoman that kept his Houſe, who was by the Neighbours ſuſpected to be with Child, and was towards the dark of the Evening one night ſent away with one* Mark Sharp, *who was a Collier, or one that digged Coals under ground, and one that had been born in* Blakeburn-*Hundred in* Lancaſhire; *and ſo ſhe was not heard of a long time, and no noiſe or little was made about it. In the Winter-time after, one* James Graham *or* Grime (*for ſo in that Countrey they call them*) *being a Miller, and living about Two miles from the place where* Walker *lived, was one night alone very late in the Mill grinding Corn; and, about twelve or one a Clock at night, he came down the Stairs from having been putting Corn in the Hopper, the Mill-doors being ſhut, there ſtood a Woman upon the midſt of the Floor with her Hair about her Head hanging down and all bloody, with five large Wounds on her Head. He being much affrighted and amazed, began to bleſs him, and at laſt asked her who ſhe was, and what ſhe wanted? To which ſhe ſaid,* I am the Spirit of

ſuch a Woman, who lived with *Walker*; and being got with Child by him, he promiſed to ſend me to a private place, where I ſhould be well lookt to until I was brought in bed and well again, and then I ſhould come again and keep his Houſe.

And accordingly, *ſaid the Apparition*, I was one night late ſent away with one *Mark Sharp*, who, upon a Moor (*naming a place that the Miller knew*) ſlew me with a Pick, (*ſuch as men dig Coals withal*) and gave me theſe five Wounds, and after threw my Body into a Coal-pit hard by, and hid the Pick under a Bank: and his Shoes and Stockings being bloudy, he endeavoured to waſh; but ſeeing the bloud would not waſh forth, he hid them there. *And the Apparition further told the Miller, that he muſt be the man to reveal it, or elſe that ſhe muſt ſtill appear and haunt him. The Miller returned home very ſad and heavy, but ſpoke not one word of what he had ſeen, but eſchewed as much as he could to ſtay in the Mill within night without company, thinking thereby to eſcape the ſeeing again of that frightful Apparition.*

*But notwithſtanding, one night when it began to be dark, the Apparition met him again, and ſeemed very fierce and cruel, and threatned him, That if he did not reveal the Murder, ſhe would continually purſue and haunt him. Yet for all this, he ſtill concealed it until St.* Thomas-*Eve before* Chriſtmas, *when being ſoon after Sun ſet*

*walking*

*walking in his Garden, ſhe appeared again , and then ſo threatned him and affrighted him, that he faithfully promiſed to reveal it next morning.*

*In the morning he went to a Magiſtrate, and made the whole matter known, with all the circumſtances; and diligent ſearch being made, the Body was found in a Coal-pit with five Wounds in the Head, and the Pick, and Shoes , and Stockings yet bloody, in every circumſtance as the Apparition had related unto the Miller. Whereupon* Walker *and* Mark Sharp *were both apprehended, but would confeſs nothing. At the Aſſizes following ( I think it was at* Durham ) *they were arraigned, found guilty, condemned, and executed, but I could never hear that they confeſſed the Fact. There were ſome that reported that the Apparition did appear to the Judge, or the Foreman of the Jury, (who was alive in* Cheſter in the Street *about Ten years ago, as I have been credibly informed) but of that I know no certainty.*

*There are many perſons yet alive that can remember this ſtrange Murder, and the Diſcovery of it ; for it was, and ſometimes yet is, as much diſcourſed of in the North-Countrey, as any thing that almoſt hath ever been heard of, and the Relation Printed, though now not to be gotten. I relate this with the greater confidence, ( though I may fail in ſome of the Circumſtances) becauſe I ſaw and read the Letter that was ſent to Serjeant*

Hutton, *who then lived at* Goldsbrugh *in* Yorkſhire, *from the Judge before whom* Walker *and* Mark Sharp *were tried, and by whom they were condemned; and had a Copy of it until about the year* 1658, *when I had it and many other Books and Papers taken from me. And this I confeſs to be one of the moſt convincing Stories (being of undoubted verity) that ever I read, heard, or knew of, and carrieth with it the moſt evident force to make the moſt incredulous ſpirit to be ſatisfied that there are really ſometimes ſuch things as Apparitions. Thus far He.*

*This Story is ſo conſiderable, that I make mention of it in my* Scholia *on my* Immortality of the Soul, *in my* Volumen Philoſophicum, *Tom.* 2. *which I acquainting a Friend of mine with, a prudent intelligent perſon, Dr.* J. D. *he of his own accord offered me, it being a thing of ſuch conſequence, to ſend to a friend of his in the North for greater aſſurance of the truth of the Narration; which motion I willingly embracing, he did accordingly. The Anſwer to his Letter from his friend Mr.* Shepherdſon, *is this.*

I have done what I can to inform my ſelf of the paſſage of *Sharp* and *Walker*. There are very few men that I could meet, that were then men, or at the Tryal, ſaving theſe two in the incloſed Paper, both men at that time, and both at the Tryal. And for Mr. *Lumley*, he lived next door to *Walker*; and what he hath given

given under his hand, can depoſe if there were occaſion. The other Gentleman writ his Atteſtation with his own hand; but I being not there, got not his Name to it. I could have ſent you twenty hands that could have ſaid thus much and more by hearſay, but I thought theſe moſt proper that could ſpeak from their own Eyes and Ears. *Thus far Mr.* Shepherdſon, *the Doctor's diſcreet and faithful Intelligencer. Now for Mr.* Lumley's *Teſtimony, it is this.*

*Mr.* William Lumley *of* Lumley, *being an ancient Gentleman, and at the Tryal of* Walker *and* Sharp *upon the Murder of* Anne Walker, *ſaith, that he doth very well remember that the ſaid* Anne *was Servant to* Walker, *and that ſhe was ſuppoſed to be with Child, but would not diſcloſe by whom. But being removed to her Aunts in the ſame Town, called Dame* Carie, *told her Aunt that he that had got her with Child, would take care both for her and it, and bid her not trouble her ſelf. After ſome time ſhe had been at her Aunts, it was obſerved that* Sharp *came to* Lumley *one night, being a ſworn Brother of the ſaid* Walker's; *and they two that night called her forth from her Aunts Houſe, which night ſhe was murdered.*

*About fourteen days after the murder, there appeared to one* Graime *a Fuller, at his Mill, ſix miles from* Lumley, *the likeneſs of a Woman, with her Hair about her head, and the appear-*

*ance of five Wounds in her Head, as the ſaid* Graime *gave it in Evidence. That that appearance bid him go to a Juſtice of Peace, and relate to him how that* Walker *and* Sharp *had murthered her, in ſuch a place as ſhe was murthered: But he fearing to diſcloſe a thing of that nature againſt a perſon of credit as* Walker *was, would not have done it; but ſhe continually appearing night by night to him, and pulling the Clothes off his Bed, told him, he ſhould never reſt till he had diſcloſed it. Upon which he the ſaid* Graime *did go to a Juſtice of Peace, and related the whole matter. Whereupon the Juſtice of Peace granted Warrants againſt* Walker *and* Sharp, *and committed them to priſon. But they found Bail to appear at the next Aſſizes. At which time they came to their Tryal, and upon evidence of the Circumſtances with that of* Graime *of the Appearance, they were both found guilty, and executed.*

Will. Lumley.

*The other Teſtimony is of Mr.* James Smart *of the City of* Durham; *who ſaith, That the Trial of* Sharp *and* Walker *was in the moneth of* Auguſt 1631, *before Judge* Davenport. *One Mr.* Fairhair *gave it in Evidence upon Oath, that he ſee the likeneſs of a Child ſtand upon* Walker's *Shoulders during the time of the Trial: At which time the Judge was very much troubled, and gave Sentence that night the Trial was; which was a thing never uſed in* Durham *before nor after.*

*Out*

*Out of which Two Teſtimonies ſeveral things may be corrected or ſupplied in Mr.* Webſters *Story, though it be evident enough that in the main they agree: For that is but a ſmall diſagreement as to the Year, when Mr.* Webſter *ſays about the year of our Lord* 1632. *and Mr.* Smart, 1631. *But unleſs at* Durham *they have Aſſizes but once in the year, I underſtand not ſo well how* Sharp *and* Walker *ſhould be apprehended ſome little while after St.* Thomas *day, as Mr.* Webſter *has it, and be tried the next Aſſizes at* Durham, *and yet that be in* Auguſt *according to Mr.* Smarts *Teſtimony. Out of Mr.* Lumley's *Teſtimony the Chriſten Name of the young Woman is ſupplied, as alſo the Name of the Town near* Cheſter in the Street, *namely* Lumley. *The Circumſtances alſo of* Walker's *ſending away his Kinſwoman with* Mark Sharp, *are ſupplied out of Mr.* Lumley's *Narrative; and the time rectified, by telling it was about fourteen days till the Spectre appeared after the Murther, whenas Mr.* Webſter *makes it a long time.*

*Two Errours alſo more are corrected in Mr.* Webſter's *Narration, by Mr.* Lumley's *Teſtimony: The diſtance of the Miller from* Lumley *where* Walker *dwelt, which was Six miles, not Two miles, as Mr.* Webſter *has it. And alſo, that it was not a Mill to grinde Corn in, but a Fullers Mill. The Apparition night by night pulling the Clothes off* Graime's *Bed, omitted in Mr.* Webſter's *ſtory, may be ſupplied out of Mr.* Lumley's.

*And*

*And Mr.* Smart's *Teſtimony puts it out of controverſie that the Trial was at* Durham, *and before Judge* Davenport, *which is omitted by Mr.* Webſter. *And whereas Mr.* Webſter *ſays, there were ſome that reported that the Apparition did appear to the Judge, or the Fore-man of the Jury, but of that he knows no certainty: This confeſſion of his, as it is a ſign he would not write any thing in this ſtory of which he was not certain for the main, ſo here is a very ſeaſonable ſupply for this out of Mr.* Smart, *who affirms that he heard one Mr.* Fairhair *give Evidence upon Oath, that he ſaw the likeneſs of a Child ſtand upon* Walker's *Shoulders during the time of the Trial. It is likely this Mr.* Fairhair *might be the Fore man of the Jury; and in that the Judge was ſo very much troubled, that himſelf alſo might ſee the ſame Apparition as Mr.* Webſter *ſays report went, though the miſtake in Mr.* Webſter *is, that it was the Apparition of the Woman. But this of the Child was very fit and appoſite, placed on his Shoulders, as one that was juſtly loaded or charged with that Crime of getting his Kinſwoman with Child, as well as of complotting with* Sharp *to murder her.*

*The Letter alſo which he mentions writ from the Judge before whom the Trial was heard, to Serjeant* Hutton, *it is plain out of Mr.* Smart's *Teſtimony, that it was from Judge* Davenport; *which in all likelihood was a very full and punctual Narrative of the whole buſineſs, and enabled*

*Mr.*

*Mr.* Webſter, *in ſome conſiderable things, to be more particular than Mr.* Lumley. *But the agreement is ſo exact for the main, that there is no doubt to be made of the truth of the Apparition. But that this, forſooth, muſt not be the* Soul *of* Anne Walker, *but her* Aſtral Spirit, *this is but a fantaſtick conceit of* Webſter *and his* Paracelſians, *which I have ſufficiently ſhewn the folly of in the* Scholia *on my* Immortality of the Soul, *Volum. Philoſ. Tom. 2. p. 384.*

*This Story of* Anne Walker *I think you will do well to put amongſt your Additions in the new Impreſſion of your* Dæmon of Tedworth, *it being ſo excellently well atteſted, and ſo unexceptionably in every reſpect; and to haſten as faſt as you can that Impreſſion, to undeceive the half-witted World, who ſo much exult and triumph in the extinguiſhing the belief of that Narration, as if the crying down the truth of that ſtory of the* Dæmon *of* Tedworth, *were indeed the very ſlaying of the Devil, and that they may now with more gaiety and ſecurity than ever ſing in a loud note that mad drunken Catch,*

Hay ho! the Devil is dead, &c.

*which wild Song, though it may ſeem a piece of levity to mention, yet believe me, the application thereof bears a ſober and weighty intimation along with it,* viz. *that theſe ſort of People are very horribly afraid there ſhould be any Spirit, leſt there ſhould*

*ſhould be a Devil, and an account after this life; and therefore they are impatient of any thing that implies it, that they may with a more full ſwing, and with all ſecurity from an after-reckoning, indulge their own Luſts and Humours in this. And I know by long experience, that nothing rouzes them ſo out of that dull Lethargy of Atheiſm and Sadduciſm, as Narrations of this kind. For they being of a thick and groſs ſpirit, the moſt ſubtile and ſolid deductions of reaſon does little execution upon them; but this ſort of ſenſible Experiments cuts them and ſtings them very ſore, and ſo ſtartles them, that by a leſs conſiderable ſtory by far than this of the* Drummer *of* Tedworth, *or of* Anne Walker, *a Doctor of Phyſick cry'd out preſently,* If this be true, I have been in a wrong Box all this time, and muſt begin my account anew.

*And I remember an old Gentleman in the Country of my acquaintance, an excellent Juſtice of Peace, and a piece of a Mathematician; but what kind of Philoſopher he was, you may underſtand from a Rhyme of his own making, which he commended to me at my taking horſe in his yard; which Rhyme is this,*

*Ens* is nothing till Senſe finde it out:
Senſe ends in nothing, ſo nought goes about.

*Which Rhyme of his was ſo rapturous to himſelf, that at the reciting of the ſecond Verſe, the old Gentleman turned himſelf about upon his Toe as nimbly*

*nimbly as one may observe a dry Leaf whisked round in the corner of an Orchard-walk by some little Whirlwind. With this Philosopher I have had many Discourses concerning the Immortality of the Soul, and its distinction from the Body, and of the existence of Spirits. When I have run him quite down by Reason, he would but laugh at me, and say, This is Logick,* H. *calling me by my Christen-Name. To which I replied, This is* Reason, *Father* L. (*for so I used, and some others, to call him*) *but it seems you are for the New Lights, and immediate Inspiration. Which, I confess, he was as little for as for the other; but I said so onely in way of drollery to him in those times. But truth is, nothing but palpable experience would move him: And being a bold man, and fearing nothing, he told me he had used all the Magical Ceremonies of Conjuration he could to raise the Devil or a Spirit, and had a most earnest desire to meet with one, but never could do it. But this he told me, when he did not so much as think of it, while his Servant was pulling off his Boots in the Hall, some invisible Hand gave him such a clap upon the Back, that it made all ring again. So, thought he, now I am invited to the converse of some Spirit; and therefore so soon as his Boots were off and his Shoes on, out goes he into the Yard and next Field, to finde out the Spirit that had given him this familiar clap on the back, but found none, neither in the Yard nor Field next to it.*

*But though he did not, this stroak, albeit he thought*

*thought it afterwards (finding nothing come of it) a mere deluſion; yet not long before his death it had more force with him than all the Philoſophical Arguments I could uſe to him, though I could winde him and nonplus him as I pleaſed; but yet all my Arguments, how ſolid ſoever, made no impreſſion upon him. Wherefore after ſeveral reaſonings of this nature, whereby I would prove to him the Souls diſtinction from the Body and its immortality, when nothing of ſuch ſubtile conſideration did any more execution on his mind, than ſome Lightning is ſaid to do, though it melt the Sword, on the fuzzy conſiſtency of the Scabbard: Well, ſaid I, Father* L. *though none of theſe things move you, I have ſomething ſtill behind, and what your ſelf has acknowledged to me to be true, that may do the buſineſs. Do you remember the clap on your back when your Servant was pulling off your Boots in the Hall? Aſſure your ſelf, ſaid I, Father* L. *that Goblin will be the firſt that will bid you welcome into the other World. Upon that his Countenance changed moſt ſenſibly, and he was more confounded with this rubbing up his memory, than with all the Rational or Philoſophical Argumentations that I could produce.*

*Indeed, if there were any modeſty left in mankind, the Hiſtories of the Bible might abundantly aſſure men of the exiſtence of Angels and Spirits. But theſe Wits, as they are taken to be, are ſo jealous, forſooth, and ſo ſagacious, that whatſoever is offered to them by way of eſtabliſhed Religion, is ſuſpecte-*

*ſpected for a piece of politick Circumvention; which is as ſilly notwithſtanding, and as childiſh, as that conceit of a Friend of yours when he was a School boy in the loweſt Form of a Country Gramar ſchool, who could not believe ſcarce that there were any ſuch men as* Cato, *and* Æſop, *and* Ovid, *and* Virgil, *and* Tully, *much leſs that they wrote any ſuch Books, but that it was a trick of our Parents to keep us up ſo many hours of the day together, and hinder us from the enjoying our innocent paſtime in the open Air, and the pleaſure of planting little Gardens of Flowers, and of hunting of Butter-flies and Bumble-bees.*

*Beſides, though what is once true never becomes falſe, ſo that it may be truely ſaid it was not once true; yet theſe ſhrewd Wits ſuſpect the truth of things for their antiquity, and for that very reaſon think them the leſs credible: Which is as wiſely done as of the Old Woman the Story goes of, Who being at Church in the week before* Eaſter, *and hearing the tragical Deſcription of all the circumſtances of our Saviour's Crucifixion, was in great ſorrow at the reciting thereof; and ſo ſollicitous about the buſineſs, that ſhe came to the Prieſt after Service with tears in her Eyes, dropping him a Courtſie, and asked him how long ago this ſad accident hapned; to whom he anſwering about Fifteen or Sixteen hundred years ago, ſhe preſently began to be comforted, and ſaid, Then in grace of God it may not be true. At this pitch of wit in* Children *and* Old Wives *is the Reaſon of our profeſſed Wit-would-be's of this preſent*

*preſent Age, who will catch at any ſlight occaſion or pretence of misbelieving thoſe things that they cannot endure ſhould be true.*

*And foraſmuch as ſuch courſe-grain'd Philoſophers as thoſe* Hobbians *and* Spinozians, *and the reſt of that Rabble, ſlight Religion and the Scriptures, becauſe there is ſuch expreſs mention of Spirits and Angels in them, things that their dull Souls are ſo inclinable to conceit to be impoſſible; I look upon it as a ſpecial piece of Providence that there are ever and anon ſuch freſh examples of Apparitions and Witchcrafts as may rub up and awaken their benummed and lethargick Mindes into a ſuſpicion at leaſt, if not aſſurance that there are other intelligent Beings beſides thoſe that are clad in heavy Earth or Clay. In this, I ſay, methinks the Divine Providence does plainly outwit the Powers of the dark Kingdom, in permitting wicked men and women and vagrant Spirits of that Kingdom to make Leagues or Covenants one with another, the Confeſſion of Witches againſt their own Lives being ſo palpable an evidence, (beſides the miraculous feats they play) that there are bad Spirits, which will neceſſarily open a Door to the belief that there are good ones, and laſtly that there is a God.*

*Wherefore let the ſmall Philoſophick Sir Foplings of this preſent Age deride them as much as they will, thoſe that lay out their pains in committing to writing certain well-atteſted Stories of* Witches *and* Apparitions, *do real ſervice to true Religion and*

*and ſound Philoſophy, and the moſt effectual and accommodate to the confounding of Infidelity and Atheiſm, even in the Judgement of the Atheiſts themſelves, who are as much afraid of the truth of theſe ſtories as an Ape is of a Whip; and therefore force themſelves with might and main to disbelieve them by reaſon of the dreadful conſequence of them as to themſelves.* The wicked fear where no fear is, but God is in the generation of the Righteous. *And he that fears God and has Faith in Jeſus Chriſt, need not fear how many Devils there be, nor be afraid of himſelf or his own Immortality. And therefore it is nothing but a foul dark Conſcience within, or a very groſs and dull conſtitution of Blood, that makes men ſo averſe from theſe Truths.*

*But however, be they as averſe as they will, being this is the moſt accommodate Medicine for this Diſeaſe, their diligence and care of Mankind is much to be commended that make it their buſineſs to apply it, and are reſolved, though the peeviſhneſs and perverſneſs of the Patients makes them pull off their Plaiſter, (as they have this excellent one of the Story of the* Dæmon *of* Tedworth *by decrying it as an Impoſture, ſo acknowledged by both your ſelf and Mr.* Mompeſſon *) are reſolved, I ſay, with meekneſs and charity to binde it on again, with the addition of new Filletting, I mean other Stories ſufficiently freſh and very well atteſted and certain. This worthy deſign therefore of yours, I muſt confeſs,*

*I cannot but highly commend and approve, and therefore wish you all good success therein; and so, committing you to God, I take leave, and rest*

Your affectionate Friend
to serve you,

*H. M.*

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THE

# THE Poſtſcript.

THis Letter lying by me ſome time before I thought it opportune to conveigh it, and in the mean while meeting more than once with thoſe that ſeemed to have ſome opinion of Mr. *Webſter*'s Criticiſms and Interpretations of Scripture, as if he had quitted himſelf ſo well there, that no proof thence can hereafter be expected of the Being of a Witch, which is the ſcope that he earneſtly aims at; and I reflecting upon that paſſage in my Letter, which does not ſtick to condemn *Webſter*'s whole Book for a weak and impertinent piece, preſently thought fit, (that you might not think that Cenſure over-raſh or unjuſt) it being an endleſs task to ſhew all the weakneſſes and impertinencies of his Diſcourſe, briefly by way of *Poſtſcript*, to hint the weakneſs and impertinency of this part which is counted the Maſter-piece of the Work, that thereby you may perceive that my judgement has not been at all raſh touching the whole.

And in order to this, we are firſt to take notice what is the real ſcope of his Book: which

if you peruſe, you ſhall certainly finde to be this: That the parties ordinarily deemed Witches and Wizzards, are onely Knaves and Queans, to uſe his Phraſe, and arrant Cheats, or deep Melancholiſts; but have no more to do with any evil Spirit, or Devil, or the Devil with them, than he has with other Sinners or wicked Men, or they with the Devil. And Secondly, we are impartially to define what is the true Notion of a Witch or Wizzard, which is neceſſary for the detecting of *Webſter*'s Impertinencies.

As for the words *Witch* and *Wizzard*, from the Notation of them, they ſignifie no more than a wiſe Man, or a wiſe Woman. In the word *Wizzard*, it is plain at the very firſt ſight. And I think the moſt plain and leaſt operoſe deduction of the name *Witch*, is from *Wit*, whoſe derived Adjective might be *Wittigh* or *Wittich*, and by contraction afterwards, *Witch*; as the Noun *wit* is from the Verb *to weet*, which is, to know. So that a Witch, thus far, is no more than a Knowing woman; which anſwers exactly to the Latine word *Saga*, according to that of *Feſtus*, *Sagæ dictæ anus quæ multa ſciunt*. Thus in general: But uſe queſtionleſs had appropriated the word to ſuch a kind of skill and knowledge, as was out of the common road or extraordinary. Nor did this peculiarity imply in it any unlawfulneſs. But there was after a further reſtriction and moſt

moſt proper of all, and in which alone now adays the words *Witch* and *Wizzard* are uſed. And that is, for one that has the knowledge or skill of doing or telling things in an extraordinary way, and that in vertue of either an expreſs or implicite ſociation or confederacy with ſome evil Spirit. This is a true and adequate definition of a *Witch* or *Wizzard*, which to whomſoever it belongs, is ſuch, & *vice versâ*. But to prove or defend, that there neither are, nor ever were any ſuch, is, as I ſaid, the main ſcope of *Webſter*'s Book: In order to which, he endeavours in his ſixth and eighth Chapters to evacuate all the Teſtimonies of Scripture: which how weakly and impertinently he has done, I ſhall now ſhew with all poſſible brevity and perſpicuity.

The words that he deſcants upon, are *Deut.* ch. 18. v. 10, 11. *There ſhall not be found among you any one that uſeth divination, or an obſerver of times, or an Enchanter, or a Witch, or a Charmer, or a Conſulter with familiar Spirits, or a Wizzard, or a Necromancer.* The firſt word or name in the Hebrew is קוסם קסמים [*Koſem Keſamim*] a *diviner*. Here becauſe קסם [*Kaſam*] ſometimes has an indifferent ſence, and ſignifies to divine by natural Knowledge or humane Prudence and Sagacity; therefore nothing of ſuch a Witch as is imagined to make a viſible League with the Devil, or to have her Body ſuckt by him, or have carnal copu-

lation with him, or is really turned into a Cat, Hare, Wolf, or Dog, can be deduced from this word. A goodly inference indeed, and hugely to the purpoſe, as is apparent from the foregoing definition. But though that cannot be deduced, yet in that this *Divination* that is here forbidden, is plainly declared abominable and execrable, as it is *v.* 12. it is manifeſt that ſuch a *Divination* is underſtood that really is ſo; which cannot well be conceived to be, unleſs it imply either an expreſs or implicite inveaglement with ſome evil inviſible Powers who aſſiſt any kind of thoſe Divinations that may be comprehended under this general term. So that this is plainly one name of Witchcraft according to the genuine definition thereof. And the very words of *Saul* to the Witch of *Endor*, are, קסומי-נא לי באוב that is to ſay, *Divine to me, I pray thee, by thy familiar Spirit.* Which is more than by natural knowledge or humane ſagacity.

The next word is מעונן [*Megnonen*] which though our Engliſh Tranſlation renders (from עון [*Gnon* ] *Tempus* ) *an obſerver of Times*; (which ſhould rather be a Declarer of the ſeaſonableneſs of the time, or unſeaſonableneſs as to ſucceſs; a thing which is enquired of alſo from Witches) yet the uſual ſence rendred by the Learned in the Language, is *Præſtigiator*, an Impoſer on the ſight, *Sapientes priſci*, ſays *Buxtorf*, a עין [ *Gnajin, Oculus* ] *deduxerunt* &

מעונן

מעונן [ *Megnonen* ] *eſſe eum dixerunt, qui tenet & præſtringit oculos, ut falſum pro vero videant.* Lo another word that ſignifies a Witch or a Wizzard, which has its name properly from impoſing on the ſight, and making the by-ſtander believe he ſees Forms or Transformations of things he ſees not. As when *Anne Bodenham* transformed herſelf before *Anne Styles* into the ſhape of a great Cat; *Anne Styles* her ſight was ſo impoſed upon, that the thing to her ſeemed to be done, though her eyes were onely deluded. But ſuch a deluſion certainly cannot be performed without confederacy with evil Spirits. For to think the word ſignifies *Præſtigiator* in that ſence we tranſlate it in Engliſh, *Juggler*, or an *Hocus-Pocus*, is ſo fond a conceit, that no man of any depth of wit can endure it. As if a merry Juggler that plays tricks of Legerdemain at a Fair or Market, were ſuch an abomination to either the God of *Iſrael*, or to his Law-giver *Moſes*; or as if an *Hocus-Pocus* were ſo wiſe a wight as to be conſulted as an Oracle: For it is ſaid *v.* 14. *For the Nations which thou ſhalt poſſeſs, they conſult* מעוננים [ *Megnonenim* ]. What, do they conſult Jugglers and *Hocus-Pocuſſes*? No certainly they conſult Witches or Wizzards, and Diviners, as *Anne Styles* did *Anne Bodenham*. Wherefore here is evidently a ſecond name of a Witch.

The Third word in the Text, is מנחש [ *Menacheſh* ]

*nacheſh* ] which our Engliſh Tranſlation renders, an *Enchanter*. And with Mr. *Webſter's* leave, (who inſulteth ſo over their ſuppoſed ignorance) I think they have tranſlated it very learnedly and judiciouſly: For Charming and Enchanting, as *Webſter* himſelf acknowledges, and the words intimate, being all one, the word מנחש [*Menacheſh*] here, may very well ſignifie Enchanters or Charmers; but ſuch properly as kill Serpents by their charming, from נחש [*Nachaſh*] which ſignifies a Serpent, from whence comes נחש [*Nicheſh*] to kill Serpents or make away with them. For a Verb in *Pihel*, ſometimes (eſpecially when it is formed from a Noun) has a contrary ſignification. Thus from שרש *radix* is שרש *radices evulſit*, from דשן *Cinis* דשן *removit Cineres*, from חטא *peccavit* חטא *expiavit à peccato*; and ſo laſtly from נחש *Serpens*, is made נחש *liberavit à ſerpentibus, nempe occidendo vel fugando per incantationem.* And therefore there ſeems to have been a great deal of skill and depth of judgment in our Engliſh Tranſlators that rendred מנחש [*Menacheſh*] an Enchanter, eſpecially when that of Augur or South-ſayer, which the Septuagint call Οἰωνιζόμενον (there being ſo many harmleſs kinds of it) might ſeem leſs ſuitable with this black Liſt: For there is no ſuch abomination in adventuring to tell, when the wild Geeſe fly high in great companies and cackle much, that hard weather is at hand.

But

But to rid Serpents by a Charm, is above the power of Nature; and therefore an indication of one that has the aſſiſtance of ſome inviſible Spirits to help him in this exploit, as it happens in ſeveral others; and therefore this is another name of one that is really a Witch.

The Fourth word is, מכשף [*Mecaſſeph*] which our Engliſh Tranſlators render, a *Witch*; for which I have no quarrel with them, unleſs they ſhould ſo underſtand it that it muſt exclude others from being ſo in that ſence I have defined, which is impoſſible they ſhould. But this, as the foregoing, is but another term of the ſame thing; that is, of a Witch in general, but ſo called here from the preſtigious impoſing on the ſight of Beholders. *Buxtorf* tells us, that *Aben Ezra* defines thoſe to be מכשפים [*Mecaſſephim*] *qui mutant & transformant res naturales ad aſpectum oculi.* Not as Jugglers and Hocus-Pocuſſes, as *Webſter* would ridiculouſly inſinuate, but ſo as I underſtood the thing in the ſecond name: For theſe are but ſeveral names of a Witch, who may have ſeveral more properties than one name intimates. Whence it is no wonder that Tranſlators render not them always alike. But ſo many names are reckoned up here in this clauſe of the Law of *Moſes*, that, as in our common Law, the ſence may be more ſure, and leave no room to evaſion. And that here this name is not from any tricks of Legerdemain as in common

common Jugglers that delude the ſight of the people at a Market or Fair, but that it is the name of ſuch as raiſe Magical Spectres to deceive mens ſight, and ſo are moſt certainly Witches, is plain from *Exod.* 22. 18. *Thou ſhalt not ſuffer* מכשפה [*Mecaſſephah*] that is, *a Witch to live.* Which would be a Law of extream ſeverity, or rather cruelty, againſt a poor Hocus-pocus for his tricks of Legerdemain.

The Fifth name is חובר חבר [*Chobher Chebher*] which our Engliſh Tranſlators render Charmer, which is the ſame with Enchanter. *Webſter* upon this name is very tedious and flat, a many words, and ſmall weight in them. I ſhall diſpatch the meaning briefly thus: This חובר חבר [*Chobher Chebher*] that is to ſay, *Socians Societatem* is another name of a Witch, ſo called ſpecially either from the conſociating together Serpents by a Charm, which has made men uſually turn it (from the example of the Septuagints ἐπᾴδων ἐπαοιδῶν) a *Charmer*, or an *Enchanter:* or elſe from the ſociety or compact of the Witch with ſome evil Spirits; which *Webſter* acknowledges to have been the opinion of two very learned men, *Martin Luther*, and *Perkins*; and I will adde a third, *Aben-Ezra*, (as *Martinius* hath noted) who gives this reaſon of the word חובר [*Chobher*] an Enchanter. which ſignifies *Socians* or *Jungens*, viz. *Quòd malignos Spiritus ſibi aſſociat.* And certainly one may charm long enough,

nough, even till his Heart ake, e're he make one Serpent aſſemble near him, unleſs helpt by this confederacy of Spirits that drive them to the Charmer. He keeps a pudder with the ſixth verſe of the fifty eighth Pſalm to no purpoſe: Whenas from the Hebrew, אשר לא-ישמע לקול מלחשים חובר חברים מחכם, if you repeat ἀπὸ φωνῆς לקול before חובר you may with eaſe and exactneſs render it thus; *That hears not the voice of muttering Charmers, no not the voice of a confederate Wizzard or Charmer that is skilful.* But ſeeing Charms, unleſs with them that are very ſhallow and ſillily credulous, can have no ſuch effects of themſelves, there is all the reaſon in the world (according as the very word intimates, and as *Aben-Ezra* has declared) to aſcribe the effect to the aſſiſtance, confederacy, and co-operation of evil Spirits, and ſo חובר חברים [*Chobher Chabharim*] or חובר חבר [*Chobher Chebher*] will plainly ſignifie a Witch or a Wizzard according to the true definition of them. But for *J. Webſter*'s rendring this verſe *p.* 119. thus, *Quæ non audiet vocem muſſitantium incantationes docti Incantantis*, (which he ſaith is doubtleſs the moſt genuine rendring of the place) let any skilful man apply it to the Hebrew Text, and he will preſently find it Grammatical Nonſence. If that had been the ſence, it ſhould have been חברי חובר מחכם.

The Sixth word is, שואל אוב [*Shoel Obh*] which

which our Engliſh Tranſlation renders, a *Conſulter with familiar Spirits*; but the Septuagint Ἐγγαστρίμυθος. Which therefore muſt needs ſignifie him that has this familiar Spirit: And therefore שואל אוב [*Shoel Obh*] I conceive, (conſidering the reſt of the words are ſo to be underſtood) is to be underſtood of the Witch or Wizzard himſelf that asks counſel of his Familiar, and does by vertue of him give Anſwers unto others. The reaſon of the name of אוב [*Obh*] 'tis likely was taken firſt from that Spirit that was in the Body of the party, and ſwelled it to a protuberancy like the ſide of a Bottle. But after, without any relation to that circumſtance, *OBH* ſignifies as much as *Pytho*; as *Pytho* alſo, though at firſt it took its name from the *Pythii Vates*, ſignifies no more than *Spiritum Divinationis*, in general, a Spirit that tells hidden things or things to come. And *OBH* and *Pytho* alſo agree in this, that they both ſignifie either the divinatory Spirit itſelf, or the party that has that Spirit. But here in שואל אוב [*Shoel Obh*] it being rendred by the Septuagint Ἐγγαστρίμυθος, *OBH* is neceſſarily underſtood of the Spirit itſelf, as *Pytho* is *Acts* 16. 16. if you read πνεῦμα πύθωνα with *Iſaac Caſaubon*; but if πύθων, it may be underſtood either way. Of this πνεῦμα πύθων it is recorded in that place, That *Paul being grieved, turned and ſaid to that Spirit, I command thee, in the name of Jeſus*

*Jeſus Chriſt, to come out of her, and he came out at the ſame hour*; which ſignifies as plainly as any thing can be ſignified, that this *Pytho* or Spirit of Divination, that this *OBH* was in her: For nothing can come out of the Sack that was not in the Sack, as the *Spaniſh* Proverb has it; nor could this *Pytho* come out of her, unleſs it was a Spirit diſtinct from her: wherefore I am amazed at the profane impudence of *J. Webſter*, that makes this *Pytho* in the Maid there mentioned, nothing but a wicked humour of cheating and couzening Divination: and adds, that this Spirit was no more caſt out of that Maid, than the ſeven Devils out of *Mary Magdalen*, which he would have underſtood onely of her ſeveral Vices; which fooliſh Familiſtical conceit he puts upon *Beza*, as well as *Adie*. Wherein as he is moſt unjuſt to *Beza*, ſo he is moſt groſly impious and blaſphemous againſt the Spirit of Chriſt in St. *Paul* and St. *Luke*, who makes them both ſuch Fools as to believe that there was a Spirit or divining Devil in the Maid, when according to him there is no ſuch thing. Can any thing be more frantick or ridiculous than this paſſage of St. *Paul*, if there was no Spirit or Devil in the Damſel? But what will this profane ſhuffler ſtick to do in a dear regard to his beloved Hags, of whom he is a ſworn Advocate and reſolved Patron right or wrong?

But to proceed, that אוב [*Obh*] ſignifies the Spirit

Spirit itſelf that divines, not onely he that has it, is manifeſt from *Levit.* 20. *v.* 27. *Vir autem ſive mulier cùm fuerit* [בהם אוב] *in eis Pytho.* And 1 *Sam.* ch. 28. *v.* 8. *Divina quæſo mihi* [באוב] *per Pythonem.* In the Septuagint it is ἐν τῷ Ἐγγαστριμύθῳ, that is, by that Spirit that ſometimes goes into the body of the party, and thence gives anſwers; but here it onely ſignifies a Familiar ſpirit. And laſtly, בעלת אוב [*Bagnalath Obh*] 1 *Sam.* 28. *v.* 7. *Quæ habet Pythonem*; there *OBH* muſt needs ſignifie the Spirit it ſelf, of which ſhe of *Endor* was the owner or poſſeſſor; that is to ſay, it was her Familiar ſpirit. But ſee what brazen and ſtupid impudence will do, here בעלת אוב [*Bagnalath Obh*] with *Webſter* muſt not ſignifie one that has a Familiar ſpirit, but the Miſtriſs of the Bottle. Who but the Maſter of the Bottle, or rather of whom the Bottle had become Maſter, and by guzling had made his wits exceſſively muddy and frothy, could ever ſtumble upon ſuch a fooliſh Interpretation? But becauſe אוב[*Obh*]in one place of the Scripture ſignifies a Bottle, it muſt ſignifie ſo here, and it muſt be the Inſtrument, forſooth, out of which this cheating Quean of *Endor* does *whiſper, peep, or chirp like a Chicken coming out of the Shell*, p. 129, 165. And does ſhe not, I beſeech you, put her Neb alſo into it ſometimes, as into a Reed, as it is ſaid of that Bird, and cry like a *Butterbump*? certainly he might

as

as well have interpreted בעלת אוב [*Bagnalath Obh*] of the great Tun of *Heydleberg*, that *Tom. Coriat* takes ſuch ſpecial notice of, asof the Bottle.

And truly ſo far as I ſee, it muſt be ſome ſuch huge *Tun* at length, rather than the *Bottle*, that is, ſuch a ſpacious *Tub* as he in his deviceful imagination fancies *Manaſſes* to have built; a μαντεῖον forſooth, or Oracular Ædifice, for *cheating Rogues and Queans to play their couzening tricks in*; from that place 2 *Chron.* 33. 6. ועשה אוב *Et fecit Pythonem.* Now, ſays he, how could *Manaſſes* make a Familiar Spirit, or make one that had a Familiar Spirit? Therefore he made a *Bottle*, a *Tun* or a large *Tub*, a μαντεῖον, or Oracular Ædifice for *cheating Rogues and Queans to play their couzening tricks in.* Very wiſely argued and out of the very depth of his ignorance of the Hebrew Tongue! whenas if he had lookt but into *Buxtorf*'s Dictionary, he might have underſtood that עשה ſignifies not onely *fecit*, but alſo *paravit*, *comparavit*, *acquiſivit*, *magni fecit*, none of which words imply the making of *OBH* in his ſence, but onely the appointing them to be got, and countenancing them. For in *Webſter*'s ſence he did not make ידעני [*Jidegnoni*] neither, that is *Wizzards*, and yet *Manaſſes* is ſaid to make them both alike. ועשה אוב וידעני *Et fecit Pythonem & Magos.* So plain is it that אוב [*Obh*] ſignifies *Pytho*, and that adequately in the ſame

ſence

ſence that *Pytho* does, either a Familiar Spirit, or him that has that ſpirit of divination. But in בעלת אוב [ *Bagnalath Obh* ] it neceſſarily ſignifies the Familiar ſpirit itſelf, which aſſiſted the Witch of *Endor*; whereby it is manifeſt ſhe is rightly called a Witch. As for his Stories of counterfeit *Ventriloquiſts*, (and who knows but ſome of his counterfeit Ventriloquiſts may prove true ones) that is but the threadbare Sophiſtry of Sadducees and Atheiſts to elude the faith of all true ſtories by thoſe that are of counterfeits or feigned.

The Seventh word is ידעוני [*Jidegnoni*] which our Engliſh Tranſlators render a *Wizzard*. And *Webſter* is ſo kind as to allow them to have tranſlated this word aright. *Wizzards* then *Webſter* will allow, that is to ſay, *He-witches*, but not *She-witches*. How tender the man is of that Sex! But the word invites him to it, ידעוני [*Jidegnoni*] coming from ידע *ſcire*, and anſwering exactly to *Wizzard* or Wiſe-man. And does not *Witch*, from *wit* and *weet*, ſignifie as well a *wiſe woman*, as I noted above? And as to the ſence of thoſe words from whence they are derived, there is no hurt therein; and therefore if that were all, ידעוני [ *Jidegnoni* ] had not been in this black Liſt. Wherefore it is here underſtood in that more reſtrict and worſt ſence: ſo as we underſtand uſually now adays *Witch* and *Wizzard*, ſuch wiſe men and women whoſe skill is from the confederacy of evil

evil Spirits, and therefore are real Wizzards and Witches. In what a bad ſence ידעוני [*Jidegnoni*] is underſtood, we may learn from *Levit.* 20. 27. *A man alſo or woman that hath a familiar Spirit, or that is a Wizzard* [ Jidegnoni ] *ſhall be put to death, they ſhall ſtone them with ſtones,* &c.

The laſt word is דורש המתים [*Doreſh Hammethim,*] which our Tranſlators rightly render *Necromancers*; that is, thoſe that either upon their own account, or deſired by others, do raiſe the Ghoſts of the deceaſed to conſult with; which is a more particular term than בעל אוב [*Bagnal Obh:* ] But he that is *Bagnal Obh*, may be alſo *Doreſh Hammethim* a *Necromancer*, as appears in the Witch of *Endor*. Here *Webſter* by המתים [ *Hammethim* ] the *Dead*, would underſtand dead Statues; but let him, if he can, any where ſhew in all the whole Scripture where the word המתים [*Hammethim*] is uſed of what was not once alive. He thinks he hits the nail on the head in that place of *Iſaias, ch.* 8. *v.* 19. *And when they ſhall ſay unto you, Seek unto* (האבות, that is, to בעלות אוב, ſuch as the Witch of *Endor* was) *them that have familiar Spirits, and to Wizzards that peep and that mutter*; ( the Hebrew has it המהגים and המצפצפים; that is, that ſpeak with a querulous murmurant or muſſitant voice, when they either conjure up the Spirit, or give reſponſes. If this be to *peep like a Chicken, Iſaiah* himſelf

peept like a Chicken, *ch.* 38.14.) *ſhould not a people ſeek unto their God? for the living,* [אל המתים] *to the dead?* where *Hammethim* is ſo far from ſignifying dead Statues, that it muſt needs be underſtood of the Ghoſts of dead men, as here in *Deuteronomy.* None but one that had either ſtupidly, or wilfully forgot the ſtory of *Samuel's* being raiſed by that בעלת אוב [*Bagnalath Obh*] the Witch of *Endor*, could ever have the face to affirm that המתים [*Hammethim*] here in *Iſaiah* is to be underſtood of dead Statues, when Wizzards or Necromancers were ſo immediately mentioned before, eſpecially not *Webſter*, who acknowledges that שואל אוב [*Shoel Obh*] ſignifies a Necromancer in this Deuteronomical Liſt of abominable names. And therefore, forſooth, would have it a Tautologie that *Doreſh Hammethim* ſhould ſignifie ſo too. But I ſay it is no Tautologie, this laſt term being more expreſs and reſtrict. And beſides, this enumeration is not intended as an accurate Logical diviſion of Witches or Witchcraft into ſo many diſtinct kinds, but a reciting of ſeveral names of that ill Trade, though they will interfere one with another, and have no ſignifications ſo preciſely diſtinct. But, as I ſaid before, this fuller recounting of them is made, that the prohibition in this form might be the ſurer fence againſt the ſin. And now therefore what will *J. Webſter* get by this, if *Doreſh Hammethim* will not ſignifie a Witch

Witch of *Endor*, when it muſt neceſſarily ſignifie a *Necromancer*, which is as much againſt his Tooth as the other? Nay indeed this *Necromancer* is alſo a Witch or Wizzard, according to the definition produced above.

The reſt of the Chapter being ſo inconſiderable, and I having been ſo long already upon it, I ſhall paſs to the next, after I have deſired you to take notice how weak and childiſh, or wild and impudent, Mr. *Webſter* has been in the Interpretation of Scripture hitherto, in the behalf of his ſage Dames, to fence off their reproach of being termed Witches; whenas there is ſcarce one word in this place of *Deuteronomy* that does not imply a Witch or Wizzard according to the real definition thereof. And truly he ſeems himſelf to be conſcious of the weakneſs of his own performance, when after all this ado, the ſum at laſt amounts but to this; That there are no Names in all the old Teſtament that ſignifie ſuch a Witch that deſtroys Men or Beaſts, that makes a viſible compact with the Devil, or on whoſe body he ſucketh, or with whom he hath carnal Copulation, or that is really changed into a Cat, Hare, Dog, or ſuch like. And to ſhew it amounts to no more than ſo, was the task we undertook in this Chapter.

But aſſure your ſelf, if you peruſe his Book carefully, you ſhall plainly find that the main drift thereof is to prove, as I above noted, that

there is no ſuch Witch as with whom the Devil has any thing more to do than with any other ſinner; which notwithſtanding, this Concluſion of his a little before recited, comes infinitely ſhort of: And therefore this ſixth Chapter, conſiſting of about Thirty pages in Folio, is a mere piece of impertinency. And there will be Witches for all this, whether theſe particularities be noted in them or no: For it was ſufficient for *Moſes* to name thoſe ill ſounding terms in general, which imply a Witch according to that general notion I have above delivered; which if it be prohibited, namely the having any thing to do with evil Spirits, their being ſuckt by them, or their having any luſtful or venereous tranſactions with them, is much more prohibited.

But for ſome of theſe particularities alſo they may ſeem to be in ſome manner hinted at in ſome of the words, eſpecially as they are rendred ſometimes by skilful Interpreters: for מכשף [*Mecaſſeph*] is tranſlated by *Vatablus* and the vulgar Latine *Maleficus*, by the *Septuagint* φαρμακὸς, that is, *Veneficus*; which words ſignifie miſchievouſly enough both to man and beaſt. Beſides that *Mecaſſeph* carries along with it the ſignification of Transformation alſo; and haply this may be the difference betwixt מכשף [*Mecaſſeph*] and מעונן [*Megnonen*] that the former uſes preſtigious Tranſformations to ſome great miſchief, as where

*Olaus*

*Olaus Magnus* tells of thoſe that have tranſformed themſelves into Wolves to mens thinking, and have preſently fall'n upon worrying of Sheep. Others tranſformed in their *Aſtral Spirit*, into various ſhapes, get into Houſes, and do miſchief to men and children, as I remember *Remigius* reports. And therefore it is leſs wonder that that ſharp Law of *Moſes* is againſt the מכשפה [*Mecaſſephah*] ſuch a Witch as this is, *Thou ſhalt not ſuffer a Witch to live*; this may be a more peculiar ſignification of that word. And now for making a compact with the Devil, how naturally does that name חובר חבר [*Chobber Chebber*] ſignifie that feat alſo? But for ſucking and copulation, though rightly ſtated it may be true, yet I confeſs there is nothing hinted towards that, ſo far as I ſee, as indeed it was neither neceſſary that the other ſhould be. But theſe are the very dregs, the *Fæx Magorum & Sagarum* that ſink into thoſe abominations, againſt which a ſufficient Bar is put already by this prohibition of Witchcraft in general by ſo many names. And the other is ſo filthy, baſe, and naſty, that the mention thereof was neither fit for the ſacred Style of *Moſes* his Law, nor for the Ears of the People.

In my paſſing to the eighth Chapter I will onely take notice by the way of the ſhameleſs impudence of *J. Webſter*, who in favour to his beloved Hags, that they may never be

thought to do any thing by the assistance of the Devil, makes the victory of *Moses*, with whom the mighty hand of God was, or of Christ, (who was the Angel that appeared first to *Moses* in the Bush, and conducted the Children of *Israel* out of *Ægypt* to the promised Land) to be the victory onely over so many *Hocus-pocusses*, so many Jugglers that were, as it seems, old excellent at the tricks of Legerdemain; which is the basest derogation to the glory of that Victory, and the vilest reproach against the God of *Israel* and the person of *Moses*, that either the malicious wit of any Devil can invent, or the dulness of any sunk Soul can stumble upon. Assuredly there was a real conflict here betwixt the Kingdom of Light and the Kingdom of Darkness and the evil Spirits thereof, which assisted the חרטמים [*Hartummim*] the Magicians of *Ægypt*; who before that name is named, that no man may mistake, are called מכשפים [*Mecassephim*] such kind of Magicians as can exhibit to the sight manifold prestigious Transformations through diabolical assistance, and are rendred *Malefici* by good Interpreters, as I noted above; that is, they were *Wizzards* or He-witches. The self same word being used in that severe Law of *Moses*, *Thou shalt not suffer a Witch to live.* Are not these Magicians then examples plain enough that there are Witches; that is to say, such wretched Wights as do strange

miraculous

miraculous things by the aſſiſtance or conſociation of evil Spirits.

O no, ſays Mr. *Webſter*, theſe are onely חכמים [*Chacamim*] *Wiſe men*, and great *Naturaliſts*, who all what they did, they did בלהטיהם, by their bright glittering *Laminæ*, for ſo להטים forſooth muſt ſignifie. But what neceſſity thereof that להט ſhould ſignifie *Lamina*? there is onely the pretence of that one place, *Gen.* 3. 24. להט הרב, where it is הרב onely that ſignifies the *Lamina*, and that of a long form, ſcarce uſual in thoſe magical *Laminæ* with Signatures celeſtial upon them, which *J. Webſter* would be at; but להט ſignifies meerly *Flamma*; ſo that בלהטיהם by this account muſt ſignifie by their flames, if it be from להט *ardere*, *flammare*: And therefore *Buxtorfius* judiciouſly places the word under לוט *abſcondit*, *obvolvit*, reading not בלהטיהם but בלאטיהם, which is as much as to ſay, *occultis ſuis rationibus Magicis*, which is briefly rendred in Engliſh, *by their Enchantments*; which agrees marvellouſly well with מכשפים [*Mecaſſephim*,] which is as much as *Præſtigiatores Magici*, or ſuch as do ſtrange wonderous things in an hidden way by the help of evil Spirits. But that the *Ægyptian* Magicians ſhould do thoſe things that are there recorded of them in *Exodus*, by vertue of any Lamels or Plates of metal with certain Sculptures or Figures under ſuch or ſuch a Conſtellation,

is a thing ſo ſottiſh and fooliſh, that no man that is not himſelf bewitched by ſome old Hag or Hobgoblin, can ever take Sanctuary here to ſave himſelf or his old Dames from being in a capacity, from this Hiſtory in *Exodus*, of being accounted Witches. For if there may be *He-witches*, that is, *Magicians*, ſuch as theſe of *Ægypt* were, I leave *J. Webſter* to ſcratch his head to find out any reaſon why there may not be *She-witches* alſo.

And indeed that of the Witch of *Endor*, to paſs at length to the eighth Chapter, is as plain a proof thereof as can be deſired by any man whoſe mind is not blinded with prejudices. But here *J. Webſter*, not impertinently, I confeſs, for the general, (abating him the many tedious particular impertinencies that he has clogged his Diſcourſe with) betakes himſelf to theſe two ways, to ſhew there was nothing of a Witch in all that whole Narration. Firſt, by pretending that all the tranſaction on the woman of *Endor*'s part was nothing but colluſion and a Cheat, *Saul* not being in the ſame Room with her, or at leaſt ſeeing nothing if he was. And then in the next place, That *Samuel* that is ſaid to appear, could neither be *Samuel* appearing in his Body out of the Grave, nor in his Soul; nor that it was a Devil that appeared: and therefore it muſt be ſome colluding Knave ſuborned by the Witch. For the diſcovering the weakneſs of his former Allega-

tion,

tion, we need but to appeal to the Text, which is this, 1 *Sam.* 28. *v.* 8.

*And* Saul *ſaid, I pray thee, divine unto me by the familiar ſpirit, and bring me up whom I ſhall name unto thee,* קסומ־נא לי ; that is, do the office of a Divinereſs or a Wiſe woman, I pray thee, unto me, באוב [*Beobh*] by vertue of the *familiar Spirit*, whoſe aſſiſtance thou haſt, not by vertue of the *Bottle*, as Mr. *Webſter* would have it. Does he think that Damſel in the *Acts* which is ſaid to have had πνεῦμα πύθωνος, that is, to have had אוב [*Obh*] carried an Aquavitæ-bottle about with her, hung at her Girdle, whereby ſhe might *divine and mutter, chirp, or peep out of it, as a Chicken out of an Egg-ſhell*, or put her Neb into it to cry like a *Bittern*, or take a dram of the Bottle to make her wits more quick and divinatory? Who but one that had taken too many drams of the Bottle could ever fall into ſuch a fond conceit? Wherefore אוב [*Obh*] in this place does not, as indeed no where elſe, ſignifie an oracular Bottle or μαντεῖον, into which *Saul* might deſire the woman of *Endor* to retire into, and himſelf expect anſwers in the next Room; but ſignifies that *familiar Spirit* by vertue of whoſe aſſiſtance ſhe was conceived to perform all thoſe wondrous offices of a Wiſe woman. But we proceed to verſe 11.

*Then ſaid the woman, Whom ſhall I bring up unto thee? And he ſaid, Bring me up* Samuel.

Surely

Surely as yet *Saul* and the woman are in the same Room; and being the woman askt, *Whom shall I bring up unto thee?* and he answering, *Bring up unto me* Samuel, it implies that *Samuel* was so to be brought up that *Saul* might see him, and not the Witch onely. But we go on, Verse 12.

*And when the woman saw* Samuel, *she cried with a loud voice: and the woman spake to* Saul, *saying, Why hast thou deceived me? for thou art Saul.* Though the woman might have some suspicions before that it was *Saul*, yet she now seeing *Samuel* did appear, and in another kind of way than her Spirits used to do, and in another hue, as it is most likely so holy a Soul did, she presently cried out with a loud voice, (*not muttered, chirpt, and peept as a Chicken coming out of the Shell*) that now she was sure it was *Saul*: For she was not such a Fool as to think her Art could call up real *Samuel*, but that the presence of *Saul* was the cause thereof: And *Josephus* writes expresly, Ὅτι θεασάμενον τὸ γυναῖον ἄνδρα σεμνὸν καὶ θεοπρεπῆ ταράττεται, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ἐκπλαγὲν, οὐ σὺ, φησὶν, ὁ Βασιλεὺς Σάουλος; *i. e. The woman seeing a grave God-like man, is startled at it, and thus astonished at the Vision, turned her self to the King, and said, Art not thou King* Saul? *Verse* 13.

*And the King said unto her, Be not afraid: for what sawest thou? And the woman said unto* Saul, *I saw Gods ascending out of the Earth.*

The

The King here aſſures the woman, that though he was *Saul*, yet no hurt ſhould come to her, and therefore bids her not be afraid: But ſhe turning her face to *Saul*, as ſhe ſpake to him, and he to her, and ſo her ſight being off from the object, *Saul* asked her, *What ſaweſt thou?* and ſhe in like manner anſwered, *I ſaw Gods, &c.* For Gods I ſuppoſe any free Tranſlator in Greek, Latine and Engliſh would ſay, δαίμονας, *Genios*, Spirits. And אלהים ſignifies Angels as well as Gods; and it is likely theſe Wiſe women take the Spirits they converſe with to be good Angels, as *Anne Bodenham* the Witch told a worthy and Learned Friend of mine, That theſe Spirits, ſuch as ſhe had, were good Spirits, and would do a man all good offices all the days of his life; and it is likely this woman of *Endor* had the ſame opinion of hers, and therefore we need not wonder that ſhe calls them אלהים [*Elohim*] eſpecially *Samuel* appearing among them, to ſay nothing of the preſence of *Saul*. And that more than one Spirit appears at a time, there are repeated examples in *Anne Bodenham*'s Magical Evocations of them, whoſe Hiſtory, I muſt confeſs, I take to be very true.

The caſe ſtands therefore thus: The Woman and *Saul* being in the ſame Room, ſhe turning her face from *Saul*, mutters to her ſelf ſome Magical form of evocation of Spirits; whereupon they beginning to appear and riſe up,

up, ſeemingly out of the Earth, upon the ſight of *Samuels* Countenance, ſhe cried out to *Saul*, and turning her face towards him ſpoke to him. Now that *Saul* hitherto ſaw nothing, though in the ſame Room, might be either becauſe the body of the woman was interpoſed betwixt his eyes and them, or the Vehicles of thoſe Spirits were not yet attempered to that conſpiſſation that they would ſtrike the eyes of *Saul*, though they did of the Witch. And that ſome may ſee an Object others not ſeeing it, you have an inſtance in the Child upon *Walker*'s Shoulders appearing to Mr. *Fairhair*, and, it may be, to the Judge, but inviſible to the reſt of the Court; and many ſuch examples there are: But I proceed to *Verſe* 14.

*And he ſaid unto her, What form is he of? and ſhe ſaid, An old man cometh up, and is covered with a mantle.* He asks here in the Singular number, becauſe his mind was onely fixt on *Samuel*. And the womans anſwer is exactly according to what the Spirit appeared to her, when her eye was upon it, *viz.* איש זקן עלה *An old man coming up*; for he was but coming up when ſhe looked upon him, and accordingly deſcribes him: For עלה there is a Participle of the preſent Tenſe, and the woman deſcribes *Samuel* from his Age, Habit, and motion he was in, while her eye was upon him. So that the genuine ſenſe and Grammatical in this anſwer to, *What form is he of?* is this, an

old

old man coming up, and the ſame covered with a mantle, this is his form and condition I ſaw him in. Wherefore *Saul* being ſo much concerned herein, either the woman or he changing their poſtures or ſtandings, or *Samuel* by this having ſufficiently conſpiſſated his Vehicle and fitted it to *Saul*'s ſight alſo, it follows in the Text, *And* Saul *perceived it was* Samuel, *and he ſtooped with his face to the ground and bowed himſelf.*

O the impudent profaneneſs and ſottiſhneſs of perverſe ſhufflers and whifflers, that upon the hearing of this paſſage can have the face to deny that *Saul* ſaw any thing, and merely becauſe the word [*perceived*] is uſed, and not [*ſaw*;] when the word [*perceived*] plainly implies that he ſaw *Samuel*, and ſomething more, namely, that by his former familiar converſe with him, he was aſſured it was he. So exquiſitely did he appear and overcomingly to his ſenſes, that he could not but *acknowledge* (for ſo the Hebrew word יָדַע ſignifies) that it was he, or elſe why did he ſtoop with his Face to the very Ground to do him honour?

No no, ſays *J. Webſter*, he ſaw nothing himſelf, but ſtood waiting like a drowned Puppet (ſee of what a baſe rude ſpirit this Squire of Hags is, to uſe ſuch language of a Prince in his diſtreſs) in another Room, to hear what would be the iſſue; for all that he underſtood

was

was from her cunning and lying relations. That this Gallant of Witches ſhould dare to abuſe a Prince thus, and feign him as much fooliſher and ſottiſher in his *Intellectuals* as he was taller in *Stature* than the reſt of the people even by head and ſhoulders, and merely, forſooth, to ſecure his old Wives from being ſo much as in a capacity of ever being ſuſpected for Witches, is a thing extreamly coarſe, and intolerably ſordid. And indeed upon the conſideration of *Saul*'s being ſaid to bow himſelf to *Samuel*, (which plainly implies that there was there a *Samuel* that was the object of his ſight and of the reverence he made) his own heart miſgives him in this mad adventure. And he ſhifts off from thence to a conceit that it was a confederate Knave that the woman of *Endor* turned out into the room where *Saul* was, to act the part of *Samuel*, having firſt put on him her own ſhort Cloak, which ſhe uſed with her maund under her arm to ride to Fairs or Markets in. To this Country-ſlouch in the womans Mantle, muſt King *Saul*, ſtooping with his face to the very ground, make his profound obeyſance. What, was a Market-womans Cloak and *Samuel*'s Mantle, which *Joſephus* calls διπλοίδα ἱερατικὴν, a *Sacerdotal habit*, ſo like one another? Or if not, how came this woman, being ſo ſurprized of a ſuddain, to provide her ſelf of ſuch a Sacerdotal habit to cloak her confederate Knave in? Was *Saul* as well

a

a *blind* as a *drowned* Puppet, that he could not diſcern ſo groſs and bold an Impoſture as this? Was it poſſible that he ſhould not perceive that it was not *Samuel* when they came to confer together, as they did? How could that confederate Knave change his own Face into the ſame figure, look, and mien that *Samuel* had, which was exactly known to *Saul*? How could he imitate his Voice thus of a ſuddain, and they diſcourſed a very conſiderable time together?

Beſides, Knaves do not uſe to ſpeak what things are true, but what things are pleaſing. And moreover, this woman of *Endor*, though a Pythoneſs, yet ſhe was of a very good nature and benign, which *Joſephus* takes notice of, and extols her mightily for it, and therefore ſhe could take no delight to lay further weight on the oppreſſed Spirit of diſtreſſed King *Saul*; which is another ſign that this Scene was acted *bonâ fide*, and that there was no couzening in it. As alſo that is another; that ſhe ſpoke ſo magnificently of what appeared to her, that ſhe ſaw *Gods* aſcending. Could ſhe then poſſibly adventure to turn out a Country-ſlouch with a Maund-womans Cloak to act the part of ſo God-like and divine a Perſonage as *Samuel*, who was Θεῷ τῳ μορφῳ ὅμοιον, as the woman deſcribes him in *Joſephus* Antiqu. Judaic. *lib.* 7. *c.* 15. Unto all which you may add, That the Scripture itſelf, which was written by Inſpira-

Inſpiration, ſays expreſly, *v.* 20. that it was *Samuel.* And the ſon of *Sirach,* ch. 46. that *Samuel* himſelf propheſyed after his death, referring to this ſtory of the woman of *Endor.* But for our new-inſpired Seers, or Saints, S. *Scot,* S. *Adie,* and if you will S. *Webſter* ſworn Advocate of the Witches, who thus madly and boldly, againſt all ſenſe and reaſon, againſt all antiquity, all Interpreters, and againſt the inſpired Scripture itſelf, will have no *Samuel* in this Scene, but a cunning confederate Knave, whether the inſpired Scripture, or theſe *inblown* Buffoons, puffed up with nothing but ignorance, vanity, and ſtupid infidelity, are to be believed, let any one judge.

We come now to his other Allegation, wherein we ſhall be brief, we having exceeded the meaſure of a Poſtſcript already. *It was neither* Samuel's *Soul,* ſays he, *joyned with his Body, nor his Soul out of his Body, nor the Devil; and therefore it muſt be ſome confederate Knave ſuborned by that cunning cheating Quean of* Endor. But I briefly anſwer, it was the Soul of *Samuel* himſelf; and that it is the fruitfulneſs of the great ignorance of *J. Webſter* in the ſound Principles of Theoſophy and true Divinity, that has enabled him to heap together no leſs than Ten Arguments to diſprove this Aſſertion, and all little to the purpoſe: So little indeed, that I think it little to the purpoſe particularly to anſwer them, but

ſhall

ſhall hint onely ſome few Truths which will rout the whole band of them.

I ſay therefore, that departed Souls, as other Spirits, have an ἀυτεξέσιον in them, ſuch as Souls have in this life; and have both a faculty and a right to move of themſelves, provided there be no expreſs Law againſt ſuch or ſuch a deſign to which their motion tends.

Again, That they have a Power of appearing in their own perſonal ſhapes to whom there is occaſion, as *Anne Walker*'s Soul did to the Miller; and that this being a faculty of theirs either natural or acquirable, the doing ſo is no miracle. And

Thirdly, That it was the ſtrong piercing deſire, and deep diſtreſs, and agony of mind in *Saul*, in his perplexed circumſtances, and the great compaſſion and goodneſs of Spirit in the holy Soul of *Samuel*, that was the effectual Magick that drew him to condeſcend to converſe with *Saul* in the womans houſe at *Endor*; as a keen ſenſe of Juſtice and Revenge made *Anne Walker*'s Soul appear to the Miller with her five Wounds in her head.

The rigid and harſh ſeverity that *Webſter* fancies *Samuel*'s Ghoſt would have uſed againſt the woman, or ſharp reproofs to *Saul*; As for the latter, it is ſomewhat expreſſed in the Text, and *Saul* had his excuſe in readineſs, and the good Soul of *Samuel* was ſenſible of his perplexed condition. And as for the former, ſith

the Soul of *Samuel* might indeed have terrified the poor woman, and ſo unhinged her, that ſhe had been fit for nothing after it, but not converted her, it is no wonder if he paſſed her by; Goodneſs and Forbearance more befitting an holy Angelical Soul, than bluſter and fury, ſuch as is fancied by that rude Goblin that actuates the Body and Pen of *Webſter*.

As for departed Souls, that they never have any care or regard to any of their fellow-Souls here upon Earth, is expreſly againſt the known example of that great Soul, and univerſal Paſtor of all good Souls, who appeared to *Stephen* at his ſtoning, and to S. *Paul* before his Converſion, though then in his glorified Body; which is a greater condeſcenſion than this of the Soul of *Samuel*, which was alſo to a Prince, upon whoſe ſhoulders lay the great affairs of the People of *Iſrael*: To omit that other notable example of the Angel *Raphael* ſo called, (from his office at that time, or from the Angelical Order he was adopted into after his death) but was indeed the Soul of *Azarias* the ſon of *Ananias* the Great, and of *Tobit*'s Brethren, *Tobit* ch. 5. 12. Nor does that which occurs, *Tob.* 12. 15. at all claſh with what we have ſaid, if rightly underſtood: for his ſaying, *I am* Raphael *one of the ſeven holy Angels which preſent the prayers of the Saints, and which go in and out before the glory of the Holy One,* in the Cabbaliſtick ſence ſignifies no more

than

than thus, That he was one of the univerſal ſociety of the holy Angels, (and a *Raphael* in the Order of the *Raphaels*) which miniſter to the Saints, and reinforce the Prayers of good and holy men by joyning thereto their own; and as they are moved by God, miniſter to their neceſſities, unprayed to themſelves, which would be an abomination to them, but extream prone to ſecond the Petitions of holy ſincere ſouls, and forward to engage in the accompliſhing of them, as a truly good man would ſooner relieve an indigent creature, overhearing him making his moan to God in Prayer, than if he begged Alms of himſelf, though he might do that without ſin. This Cabbaliſtical account, I think, is infinitely more probable, than that *Raphael* told a downright lye to *Tobit*, in ſaying he was the ſon of *Ananias* when he was not. And be it ſo, will *J. Webſter* ſay, what is all this to the purpoſe, when the Book of *Tobit* is Apocryphal, and conſequently of no Authority? What of no Authority? certainly of infinitely more Authority than Mr. *Wagſtaf*, Mr. *Scot*, and Mr. *Adie*, that Mr. *Webſter* ſo frequently and reverently quoteth.

I but, will he further add, theſe Apparitions were made to good and holy men, or to *elect Veſſels*; but King *Saul* was a *wretched Reprobate*. This is the third liberal badge of honour that this ill-bred Advocate of the Witches has

beſtowed on a diſtreſſed Prince. Firſt, a *drowned Puppet*, p. 170. then a *diſtracted Bedlam*, in the ſame Page, which I paſſed by before; and now, a *wretched Reprobate:* But aſſuredly *Saul* was a brave Prince and Commander, as *Joſephus* juſtly deſcribes him, and Reprobate onely in Type, as *Iſmael* and *Eſau*; which is a myſtery, it ſeems, that *J. Webſter* was not aware of. And therefore no ſuch wonder that the Soul of *Samuel* had ſuch a kindneſs for him, as to appear to him in the depth of his diſtreſs, to ſettle his mind, by telling him plainly the upſhot of the whole buſineſs, that he ſhould loſe the Battle, and he and his Sons be ſlain, that ſo he might give a ſpecimen of the braveſt Valour that ever was atchieved by any Commander, in that he would not ſuffer his Countrey to be over-run by the Enemy, while he was alive, without reſiſtance; but though he knew certainly he ſhould fail of ſucceſs, and he and his Sons dye in the fight, yet in ſo juſt and honourable a Cauſe as the defence of his Crown and his Countrey, would give the Enemy battle in the Field, and ſacrifice his own Life for the ſafety of his People. Out of the knowledge of which noble ſpirit in *Saul*, and his reſolved valour in this point, thoſe words haply may come from *Samuel, To morrow ſhalt thou and thy ſons be with me*, (as an auſpicious inſinuation of their favourable reception into the other world)

in

in מהוצת צדקים *in thalamo juſtorum*, as *Munſter* has noted out of the *Rabbins*.

Laſtly, as for that weak imputation that this opinion of its being *Samuel*'s ſoul that appeared, is Popiſh, that is very Plebeianly and Idiotically ſpoken, as if every thing that the Popiſh party are for, were Popiſh. We divide our zeal againſt ſo many things that we fancy Popiſh, that we ſcarce reſerve a juſt ſhare of deteſtation againſt what is truly ſo: Such as are that groſs, rank, and ſcandalous impoſſibility of *Tranſubſtantiation*, the various modes of fulſome *Idolatry* and lying *Impoſtures*, the *Uncertainty* of their *Loyalty* to their lawful Soveraigns by their ſuperſtitious adheſion to the ſpiritual Tyranny of the Pope, and that barbarous and ferine *Cruelty* againſt thoſe that are not either ſuch fools as to be perſwaded to believe ſuch things as they would obtrude upon men, or are not ſo falſe to God and their own Conſciences, as knowing better, yet to profeſs them.

As for that other opinion, that the greater part of the reformed Divines hold, That it was the Devil that appeared in *Samuel*'s ſhape; and though *Grotius* alſo ſeems to be enclined thereto, alledging that paſſage of *Porphyrius*, *De Abſtinentia Animalium*, where he deſcribes one kind of Spirit to be, Γένος ἀπατηλῆς φυσέως, παντομορφόντε καὶ πολύτροπον, ὑποκεινόμενον καὶ θεὸς καὶ δαίμονας καὶ ψυχὰς τεθνηκότων. (which is,

I confeſs, very appoſite to this ſtory; nor do doubt but that in many of theſe Necromantick Apparitions, they are ludicrous Spirits, not the Souls of the deceaſed that appear) yet I am clear for the appearing of the Soul of *Samuel* in this ſtory, from the reaſons above alledged, and as clear that in other Necromancies it may be the Devil, or ſuch kind of Spirits as *Porphyrius* above deſcribes, *that change themſelves into omnifarious forms and ſhapes, and one while act the parts of* Dæmons, *another while of* Angels *or* Gods, *and another while of the Souls of the deceaſed:* And I confeſs ſuch a ſpirit as this might perſonate *Samuel* here, for any thing *Webſter* has alledged to the contrary. For his Arguments indeed are wonderfully weak and woodden, as may be underſtood out of what I have hinted concerning the former opinion. But I cannot further particularize now.

For I have made my *Poſtſcript* much longer than my Letter, before I was aware; and I need not enlarge to you, who are ſo well verſed in theſe things already, and can by the quickneſs of your parts preſently collect the whole meaſure of *Hercules* by his Foot, and ſufficiently underſtand by this time it is no raſh cenſure of mine in my Letter, That *Webſter*'s Book is but a weak impertinent piece of work, the very Maſter-piece thereof being ſo weak and impertinent, and falling ſo ſhort of the ſcope he aims it, which was really to prove that there

was

was no ſuch thing as a Witch or Wizzard, that is, not any mention thereof, in Scripture, by any name *of one that had more to do with the Devil, or the Devil with him, than with other wicked men*; that is to ſay, of one who in vertue of Covenant either implicit or explicit did ſtrange things by the help of evil Spirits, but *that there are many ſorts of Deceivers and Impoſtors, and diverſe perſons, under a paſſive deluſion of Melancholy and Fancy*, which is part of his very Title-page.

Whereby he does plainly inſinuate, there is nothing but Couzenage or Melancholy in the whole buſineſs of the feats of Witches. But a little to mitigate or ſmother the groſſneſs of this falſe Aſſertion, he adds, *And that there is no corporeal League betwixt the Devil and the Witch; and that he does not ſuck on the Witches body, nor has carnal Copulation with her, nor the Witches are turned into Dogs or Cats*, &c. All which things, as you may ſee in his Book, he underſtands in the groſſeſt manner imaginable, as if the Imps of Witches had Mouths of fleſh to ſuck them, and Bodies of fleſh to lye with them. And at this rate he may underſtand a *corporeal* League, as if it were no League or Covenant, unleſs ſome Lawyer drew the inſtrument, and engroſſed it in Vellum or thick Parchment, and there were ſo many Witneſſes with the Hand and Seal of the party: nor any Transformation into Dogs or Cats, unleſs

it were real and corporeal, or groſly carnal; which none of his *Witchmongers*, as he rudely and ſlovenly calls that learned and ſerious perſon Dr. *Caſaubon* and the reſt, do believe. Onely it is a diſputable caſe of their *bodily* Tranſformation, betwixt *Bodinus* and *Remigius*; of which more in my *Scholia*. But that without this carnal tranſmutation a woman might not be accounted a Witch, is ſo fooliſh a ſuppoſition, that *Webſter* himſelf certainly muſt be aſhamed of it.

Wherefore if his Book be writ onely to prove there is no ſuch thing as a Witch that covenants in Parchment with the Devil by the advice of a Lawyer, and is really and carnally turned into a Dog, Cat, or Hare, &c. and with carnal lips ſucked by the Devil, and is one with whom the Devil lies carnally; the ſcope thereof is manifeſtly impertinent, when neither Dr. *Caſaubon* nor any one elſe holds any ſuch thing. But as for the true and adequate notion of a Witch or Wizzard, ſuch as at firſt I deſcribed, his Arguments all of them are too too weak or impertinent, as to the diſproving the exiſtence of ſuch a Witch as this, who betwixt his *Deceivers*, *Impoſtours*, and *Melancholiſts* on one hand, and thoſe *groſs Witches* he deſcribes, on the other hand, goes away ſhere as a Hare in a green balk betwixt two Lands of Corn, none of his Arguments reaching her or getting the ſight of her, himſelf in the mean

mean time ſtanding on one ſide amongſt the *Deceivers* and *Impoſtours*, his Book, as to the main deſign he drives at, being a mere *Cheat* and *Impoſtour*.

C. C. C. *May* 25.
1678.

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# ADVERTISEMENT.

THis Letter of Dr. *Moor* being left amongſt other Papers appertaining to this new-intended Edition by Mr. *Glanvil*, and I perceiving in a Letter of his to the Doctor that he had a mind this Letter ſhould be publiſhed together with his Book, it is done accordingly, and prefixed at the beginning thereof, as natural Method requires, the *Letter* being hortatory to quicken Mr. *Glanvil* to diſpatch his intended new Edition for the undeceiving of the World, and the *Poſtſcript* containing many things of a general influence upon the whole Book. But that the Doctor may ſuffer no prejudice through this publiſhing of his *Letter* and *Poſtſcript*, from the ſharpneſs and ſatyricalneſs of them in ſome places, I ſhall for the more rightly underſtanding his meaning in the uſing that mode of writing upon this occaſion, tranſcribe a paſſage of a Letter of his to

to his friend Mr. *Glanvil*, relating thereto. *I pray you ſend me word whether that* Poſtſcript *will not meet with all the eluſory cavils of that profane Buffoon, upon thoſe places of holy Scripture: his unworthy uſage of the Holy Writ, and his deriſorious Interpretations of it in the behalf of his beloved Hags, provoked my indignation to ſuch Schemes of deriding and expoſing him, as otherwiſe I ſhould never have condeſcended to.* This is a ſufficient Teſtimony of the Doctor's averſneſs from ſuch manner of writing. But as Divines tell us, that Anger and Puniſhment are God's *Opus alienum*, his ſtrange work, as being more abhorrent from his nature; but yet for the good of the Univerſe he ſteps out ſometimes into that diſpenſation: ſo I think it not misbecoming good men, ſometimes to condeſcend, as the Doctor calls it, to the chaſtiſing prophane Drolls and Abuſers of holy things, by a juſt deriſion and ſatyrical reprehenſion for their freakiſh and impious ſaucineſs, provided it be done ſincerely, and for the publick good.

*Sadu-*

# *Saduciſmus Triumphatus:*

OR,

Full and plain EVIDENCE

Concerning

# WITCHES

AND

# APPARITIONS.

The Firſt PART thereof conteining

Philoſophical Conſiderations

Which defend their

## POSSIBILITY.

Whereunto is added,

The true and genuine NOTION, and conſiſtent Explication of the Nature

OF A

## SPIRIT,

For the more full Confirmation of the POSSIBILITY of their EXISTENCE.

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*LONDON:* Printed, 1681.

# To the Illuſtrious CHARLES DUKE of *Richmond* and *Lenox*.

*My* LORD,

YOUR *Grace having been pleaſed to command the* firſt, *and more imperfect, Edition of this Diſcourſe, I have preſumed that your Candour will accept the Draught that hath had my laſt hand upon it. And though I am not fond enough to phancy any* Art *or* Ornament *in the compoſure to recommend it; yet, I know, the* Eſſay *is* ſeaſonable, *and contains things which relate to our* biggeſt *Intereſts; the deſign being to ſecure ſome of the* Out-works *of* Religion, *and to regain a parcel of ground which* bold *Infidelity hath* invaded. *And, my Lord, I cannot but obſerve* ſadly, *that while the* Sects *are venting their* Animoſities *againſt each other, and ſcrambling for their* Conceits, *and the* particular *advantages of their way, they perceive*

*ceive not that* Atheiſm *comes on by large ſtrides, and enters the* Breaches *they have made. Sober and conſiderate men ſee the* formidable danger, *and ſome of them have ſtrenuouſly endeavoured to maintain the Walls, while the factions within are ſo* buſie *and ſo* divided, *that they cannot attend the* deſperate *hazard, and will not joyn in a* Common Defence. *Among thoſe* generous Defendants *I deſire to* pitch, *and have undertaken to make good one of the* Forts *upon which the Enemy hath made* impetuous *Aſſaults, and I hope with no contemptible ſucceſs.*

*For my part, my Lord, I am very little concerned for the ſmall* pedlaries *that ſome mens* fondneſs *calls* Religion, *by which that* ſacred *thing hath been expoſed to a great deal of* contempt *and* diſhonour. *But yet I think it my duty to have a zeal for thoſe* great *and* certain *matters upon which our hopes in an* other world *are grounded: And that our expectations of a* future Being, *are not* imaginary *and* fantaſtick, *we have* reaſonable *evidence enough from the* Attributes *of* God, *the* Phænomena *of* Providence, *and the* nature *of our* Souls, *to convince* any, *but thoſe who will* ſtupidly *believe that they ſhall* dye *like* Beaſts, *that they may* live like them. *I confeſs the* Philoſophick Arguments *that are produced for the* deſirable *Article, though very* cogent, *are many of them* ſpeculative *and* deep, *requiring ſo great an* attention *and* ſagacity, *that they take no hold upon the* whiffling *ſpirits,*

*that*

*that are not uſed to* conſider; *nor upon the* common *ſort, that cannot reach ſuch* heights *of* Argument: *But they are* both *beſt convinced by the proofs that come neareſt the* ſence, *which indeed ſtrike our minds* fulleſt, *and leave the moſt* laſting *impreſſions; whereas high Speculations being more* thin *and* ſubtile, *eaſily* ſlide off *even from underſtandings that are moſt capable to receive them. For this reaſon, among ſome others, I appear thus much concerned for the juſtification of the belief of* Witches, *it ſuggeſting* palpable *and current evidence of our* Immortality, *which I am exceedingly* ſollicitous *to have made good.*

*For really, my Lord, if we make our computes like* Men, *and do not ſuffer our ſelves to be abuſed by the* flatteries *of* ſenſe, *and the* deceitful gayeties *that ſteal us away from* God, *and from* our ſelves, *there is nothing can render the thoughts of this* odd life *tolerable, but the* expectation *of another. And* wiſe *men have ſaid, that they would not live a* moment, *if they thought they were not to* live again. *This perhaps ſome may take to be the diſcontented* Paradox *of a* melancholick, vext *and of* mean *condition, that is* pinched *by the ſtraitneſs of* fortune, *and envies the* heights *of others* felicity *and* grandeurs; *But by that time thoſe that judge ſo, have ſpent the* heats *of* frolick *youth, and have paſt over the ſeveral* ſtages *of* vanity; *when they come to ſit down, and make ſober reflections upon their*

plea-

pleaſures *and* purſuits, *and ſum up the accompt of all that is with them, and before them, I doubt not but their* conſidering *thoughts will make* Solomon's Concluſion, *and find, that 'tis but a* miſery *to* live, *if we were to* live *for* nothing elſe. *So that if the* content *of the* preſent life *were all I were to have for the* hopes *of* Immortality, *I ſhould* even *upon* that account *be very unwilling to believe that I was* mortal: *For certainly the* pleaſures *that reſult from the thoughts of* another *world in thoſe that not onely ſee it* painted *in their* imaginations, *but* feel *it begun in their* Souls, *are as far beyond all the* titillations *of* ſenſe, *as a* real laſting happineſs *is beyond the* deluſive Images *of a* Dream. *And therefore they that think to ſecure the injoyment of their* pleaſures *by the* infamy *of our* natures *in the overthrow of our future* hopes, *indeavour to dam up the* Fountain *of the* fulleſt *and* cleaneſt delights; *and ſeek for* limpid *waters in the* ſinks *and* puddles *of the ſtreets.*

*You ſee, my Lord, how my zeal for this mighty intereſt tranſports me to a greater length in this addreſs, than perhaps may conſiſt with* ſtrict decorum; *and I indulge my Pen the rather in this* licence, *becauſe poſſibly your Grace's name may draw ſome eyes hither that have* need *of ſuch* ſuggeſtions, *and thoſe that have not* need *a great deal more. It cannot be proper to add here thoſe large accounts which would be requiſite in a deſign of full conviction: But for the preſent, if they*

*ſhall*

*ſhall pleaſe to look forward, they may likely meet* ſome *things not unfit for their ſerious thoughts; and I intend to take a ſeaſon to preſent them* others, *more particularly ſuitable to what I* know *is as much their* intereſt, *as I doubt it is their* want.

*But, my Lord, I fear I am* importunate, *and beſeech your Grace to pardon the boldneſs of*

My LORD,

Your Grace's

Moſt obedient Servant,

*Joſ. Glanvil.*

# Preface.

THere are a ſort of *narrow* and *confin'd Spirits*, who account all Diſcourſes *needleſs*, that are not for their particular *purpoſes*; and judge all the world to be of the *ſize* and *Genius* of thoſe within the *Circle* of their Knowledge and Acquaintance; ſo that with a *pert* and *pragmatique Inſolence*, they cenſure all the *braver Deſigns* and *Notices* that lie beyond their Ken, as *nice* and *impertinent Speculations*: an *ignorant* and *proud Injuſtice*; as if this ſort were the onely perſons, whoſe humour and needs ſhould be conſulted. And hence it comes to paſs, that the *greateſt* and *worthieſt* things that are written or ſaid, do always meet with the moſt general *neglect* and *ſcorn*, ſince the *leſſer people*, for whom they were not intended, are quick to *ſhoot* their *bolt*, and to condemn what they do not *underſtand*, and *becauſe* they *do* not. Whereas on the other ſide, thoſe that are able to *judge* and would *incourage*, are commonly *reſerv'd* and *modeſt* in their *ſentences*; or, if they ſhould ſeek to do right to things that are worthy, they are ſure to be out-voiced by the *rout* of *ignorant* contemners. Upon which accounts I have often thought that he that courts and values *popular* eſtimation, takes not

the right way if he endeavour any thing that is *really excellent:* but he muſt ſtudy the *little plauſibilities*, and accommodate the humour of the *MANY*, who are *active Miniſters* of *Fame*, being *zealous* and *loud* in their *applauſes*, as they are *clamorous* and *impetuous* in their *oppoſitions*. As for *theſe*, 'tis one of my chief cares to make my ſelf as much unconcern'd at their *Cenſures*, as I am at the *cacklings of a flock of Geeſe*, or at the *eager* diſpleaſure of thoſe little *ſnarling Animals*, that are *angry* when I go along the ſtreets. Nor can any man be either *wiſe* or *happy*, till he hath arrived to that *greatneſs* of *mind*, that no more conſiders the *tattling* of the *multitude* than the *whiſtling* of the *wind*. Not that I think the *common* people are to be contemned for the *weakneſs* of their *underſtandings*; 'tis an *inſolent meanneſs* of *ſpirit* that doth *that:* but when *conceited* ignorance ſits down in the *Judgment ſeat*, and gives *peremptory Verdicts* upon things beyond its *Line*, the *wiſe man ſmiles* and *paſſeth by*. For ſuch (if *that* may ſignifie any thing to keep them from troubling themſelves about the following *CONSIDERATIONS*) I deſire they would take notice from *me*, that I writ not thoſe things for ſuch as *they*; and they will do well to throw up the Book upon this *Advertiſement*, except they will ſtay to hear, That though *Philoſophical* Diſcourſes to juſtifie the common belief about *Witches*, are nothing at all

all to *them*, or thoſe of *their meaſure*; yet they are too *ſeaſonable* and *neceſſary* for our *Age*, in which *Atheiſm* is begun in *Sadduciſm:* And thoſe that dare not bluntly ſay, *There is NO GOD*, content themſelves (for a fair *ſtep* and *Introduction*) to deny there are *SPIRITS*, or *WITCHES*. Which ſort of *Infidels*, though they are not ordinary among the *meer vulgar*, yet are they numerous in a little higher rank of *underſtandings*. And thoſe that know any thing of the world, know, that moſt of the looſer *Gentry*, and the ſmall pretenders to *Philoſophy* and *Wit*, are generally deriders of the *belief of Witches* and *Apparitions*. And were this a ſlight or mere ſpeculative miſtake, I ſhould not trouble my ſelf or them about it. But I fear this errour hath a *Core* in it that is worſe than *Hereſie:* and therefore how little ſoever I care what men *believe* or *teach* in matters of *Opinion*, I think I have reaſon to be concern'd in an affair that toucheth ſo near upon the greateſt intereſts of Religion. And really I am aſtoniſht ſometimes to think into what a kind of *Age* we are fallen, in which ſome of the *greateſt impieties* are accounted but *Bugs*, and *terrible Names*, *inviſible Tittles*, Peccadillo's, or Chimera's. The ſad and greateſt inſtances, are *SACRILEDGE*, *REBELLION*, and *WITCHCRAFT*. For the two former, there are a ſort of men (that are far from being profeſt Enemies to

Religion) who, I do not know whether they *own* any ſuch vices. We find no mention of them in their moſt particular *Confeſſions*, nor have I obſerved them in thoſe Sermons that have contained the largeſt *Catalogues* of the *Sins* of our *Age* and *Nation*. *'Twere dangerous to ſpeak of them as ſins, for fear who ſhould be found guilty.* But my buſineſs at preſent is not with *theſe*, but the other, *WITCHCRAFT*, which I am ſure was a *Sin* of elder times; and how comes it about that our *Age*, which ſo much outdoes them in all other kinds of *wickedneſs*, ſhould be wholly *innocent* in this? That there *MAY* be *WITCHES* and *Apparitions* in our days, notwithſtanding the *Objections* of the *modern Sadduce*, I believe I have made appear in the CONSIDERATIONS following; in which I did not primarily intend direct *Proof*, but *DEFENCE*, as the Title of the *firſt Edition*, which is reſtor'd in *theſe later* mention'd.

And if it ſhould be *objected*, That I have for the moſt part uſed onely *ſuppoſals* and *conjectural* things in the *vindication* of the *common* belief, and ſpeak with no *point-blank aſſurance* in my *particular* Anſwers, as I do in the *general* Concluſion; I need onely ſay, That the *Propoſition* I *defend* is *matter* of *fact*, which the *disbelievers* impugne by alledging that it *cannot be*, or *it is not likely*: In return to which, if I ſhew how thoſe things *may be*, and *probably*,

*bly*, notwithſtanding their *allegations*, though I ſay not downright that they are in the particular way I offer, yet 'tis enough for the deſign of *Defence*, though not for that of *Proof*: for when one ſaith a thing *cannot be*, and I tell him how poſſibly *it may*, though I hit not the juſt *manner* of it, I yet defeat the *Objection* againſt it, and make way for the *evidence* of the thing *de Facto*; which now I have added from the *Divine Oracles*, and two *Modern Relations* that are *clear* and *unexceptionable*.

I have no humour nor delight in telling Stories, and do not publiſh *theſe* for the gratification of thoſe that have; but I record them as *Arguments* for the *confirmation* of a Truth which hath indeed been atteſted by multitudes of the like Evidences in all places and times. But things *remote*, or *long paſt*, are either not *believed* or *forgotten*: whereas *theſe* being *freſh* and *near*, and attended with all the circumſtances of *credibility*, it may be expected they ſhould have the more ſucceſs upon the *obſtinacy* of *Unbelievers*.

But after all this, I muſt confeſs, there is *one Argument* againſt me, which is not to be dealt with, *viz.* a *mighty confidence* grounded upon *nothing*, that *ſwaggers*, and *huffs*, and *ſwears* there are no **Witches**. For ſuch *Philoſophers* as *theſe*, let them enjoy the *Opinion* of their own *Superlative Judgements*, and enter

ter me in the first rank of *Fools* for crediting my *Senses*, and those of all the World, before their *sworn* Dictates. If they will believe in *Scott*, *Hobbes*, and *Osborne*, and think *them* more *infallible* than the *Sacred* Oracles, the *History* of all Ages, and the *full experience* of our *own*, who can help it? They must not be *contradicted*, and they are resolved not to be *perswaded*. For this sort of men, I never go about to convince them of any thing. If I can avoid it, I throw nothing before them, lest they should *turn again*, and *rend me*. Their *Opinions* came into their *Heads* by *chance*, when their *little reasons* had no *notice* of their *entrance*; and they must be let alone to go out again of themselves, the same way they entred. Therefore not to make much noise to disturb these *infallible Huffers* (and they cannot hear a *little* for their *own*) I softly step by them, leaving onely this whisper behind me; That though their *worshipful ignorance* and *sottishness* can relish nothing of a Discourse that doth not minister to *Sensuality* and *Unbelief*, yet my *CONSIDERATIONS* have had the good fortune of a *better* reception from the *braver* and more *generous* Spirits, than my fondest hopes could have expected; and persons whose good thoughts I have reason to value, have assured me that their *kindness* to my Book hath improved upon *second* and more *careful* perusals: which

I mention for this purpoſe, that *thoſe* that *need* my *Remarques*, and cannot *feel* them in a *running reading*, may pleaſe to turn their eyes back, and *deliberately* think over what I have offered; from which courſe I dare promiſe them more *ſatisfaction* than from their *haſte*.

*Bath* June 8.
1668.

*J. G.*

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SOME

SOME
CONSIDERATIONS
ABOUT
# Witchcraft.
In a LETTER to
ROBERT HUNT, Eſq;

## SECT. I.

SIR,

THE *frequent* and *late* dealings you have had in the *Examination* of *Witches*, and the regards of one that hath a very particular honour for you, have brought you the trouble of ſome CONSIDERATIONS on the Subject. And though what I have to ſay, be but the unaccurate product of a little leiſure; yet I hope it may afford you ſome, not unreaſonable, accounts of the odd *Phænomena* of *Witchcraft* and *Faſcination*, and contribute to the DEFENCE of the *Truth*,

*Truth* and *certainty* of matters, which you *know* by *Experiments* that could not *deceive*, in ſpite of the *petty exceptions* of thoſe that are reſolved to believe nothing in affairs of this nature.

And if any thing were to be much *admired* in an Age of *Wonders*, not onely of *Nature*, (which is a *conſtant Prodigie*) but of *Men* and *Manners*; it would be to me matter of *aſtoniſhment*, that *Men*, otherwiſe *witty* and *ingenious*, are fallen into the conceit that there is no ſuch *thing* as a *Witch* or *Apparition*, but that theſe are the creatures of *Melancholy* and *Superſtition*, foſter'd by *ignorance* and *deſign*; which comparing the *confidence* of their *disbelief* with the *evidence* of the *things denied*, and the weakneſs of their *grounds*, would almoſt ſuggeſt that themſelves are an *Argument* of what they *deny*; and that ſo confident an opinion could not be held upon ſuch inducements, but by ſome kind of *Witchcraft* and *Faſcination* in the *Fancy*. And perhaps that *evil Spirit* whoſe *influences* they will not allow in actions aſcribed to ſuch Cauſes, hath a greater hand and intereſt in their *Propoſition* than they are aware of. For that ſubtile Enemy of Mankind (ſince *Providence* will not permit him to miſchief us without our own *concurrence*) attempts that by *ſtratagem* and *artifice*, which he could never effect by *open* ways of acting; and the ſucceſs of all *wiles* depending upon their *ſecrecy* and *conceal-*

*concealment*, his *influence* is never more *dangerous* than when his *agency* is leaſt *ſuſpected*. In order therefore to the carrying on the *dark* and *hidden deſigns* he manageth againſt our happineſs and our Souls, he cannot expect to advantage himſelf more, than by inſinuating a belief, *That there is no ſuch thing as himſelf*, but that *fear* and *fancy* make *Devils* now, as they did *Gods* of old. Nor can he ever draw the aſſent of men to ſo *dangerous* an aſſertion, while the *ſtanding ſenſible* evidences of his *exiſtence* in his practices by and upon his *inſtruments* are not diſcredited and removed.

'Tis doubtleſs therefore the intereſt of this *Agent* of *darkneſs* to have the world believe, that the *notion* they have of him is but a *phantôme* and conceit; and in order thereunto, that the ſtories of *Witches*, *Apparitions*, and indeed every thing that brings tidings of another world, are but *melancholick Dreams*, and *pious Romances*. And when men are arrived thus far to think there are no *diabolical contracts* or *Apparitions*, their belief that there are ſuch *Spirits* reſts onely upon their *Faith* and *Reverence* to the *divine Oracles*, which we have little reaſon to apprehend ſo great in ſuch aſſertors, as to command much from their aſſent; eſpecially in ſuch things in which they have *corrupt intereſts* againſt their *evidence*. So that he that thinks there is no *Witch*, believes a *Devil gratis*, or at leaſt upon inducements,

ments, which he is like to find himſelf diſpoſed to deny when he pleaſeth. And when men are arrived to this degree of *diffidence* and *infidelity*, we are beholden to them if they believe either *Angel*, or *Spirit*, *Reſurrection* of the *body*, or *Immortality* of *Souls*. Theſe things hang together in a *Chain* of *connexion*, at leaſt in theſe mens *Hypotheſis*; and 'tis but an happy chance if he that hath loſt one *link* holds another. So that the *vitals* of Religion being ſo much intereſſed in this ſubject, it will not be unneceſſary employment particularly to diſcourſe it.

And in order to the proof that there have been, and are, *unlawful Confederacies* with *evil Spirits*, by vertue of which the *helliſh accomplices* perform things above their natural powers: I muſt premiſe, that this being *matter* of *fact*, is onely capable of the evidence of *authority* and *ſenſe*; and by both theſe the being of *Witches* and *diabolical Contracts* is moſt abundantly confirm'd. All *Hiſtories* are full of the exploits of thoſe *Inſtruments of darkneſs*; and the *teſtimony* of all *ages*, not onely of the *rude* and *barbarous*, but of the moſt *civiliz'd* and *poliſh'd* world, brings tidings of their ſtrange performances. We have the *atteſtation* of thouſands of eye and ear-witneſſes, and thoſe not of the eaſily-deceivable vulgar onely, but of wiſe and grave diſcerners; and that, when no intereſt could oblige them to agree together

in

in a common *Lye.* I ſay, we have the light of all theſe *circumſtances* to confirm us in the belief of things done by perſons of deſpicable power and knowledge, beyond the reach of *Art* and *ordinary Nature.* Standing publick *Records* have been kept of theſe well-atteſted *Relations,* and *Epocha's* made of thoſe unwonted events. Laws in many Nations have been enacted againſt thoſe vile practices; thoſe among the *Jews* and our *own* are *notorious* ; ſuch caſes have been often determined near us, by *wiſe* and *reverend Judges,* upon clear and convictive Evidence: and thouſands in our own Nation have *ſuffered death* for their *vile compacts* with *apoſtate ſpirits.* All theſe I might largely prove in their particular inſtances, but that 'tis not needful, ſince thoſe that deny the being of *Witches,* do it not out of ignorance of theſe heads of Argument, of which probably they have heard a thouſand times; but from an *apprehenſion* that ſuch a *belief is abſurd,* and the things *impoſſible.* And upon theſe preſumptions they contemn all demonſtrations of this nature, and are hardned againſt conviction. And I think, thoſe that can believe all *Hiſtories* are *Romances*; That all the *wiſer* world have agreed together to *juggle* mankind into a common belief of *ungrounded fables* ; That the *ſound ſenſes of multitudes* together may deceive them, and *Laws* are built upon *Chimera's*; That the *graveſt* and *wiſeſt Judges* have been

*Murderers,*

*Murderers*, and the *ſageſt* perſons *Fools*, or *deſigning Impoſtors*: I ſay, thoſe that can believe this *heap* of abſurdities, are either more *credulous* than thoſe whoſe *credulity* they reprehend; or elſe have ſome *extraordinary evidence* of their perſwaſion, *viz. That 'tis abſurd and impoſſible there ſhould be a Witch or Apparition.* And I am confident, were thoſe *little appearances* remov'd which men have form'd in their fancies againſt the belief of ſuch things, their own *evidence* would make its way to mens *aſſent*, without any more arguments than what they know already to enforce it. There is nothing then neceſſary to be done, in order to the eſtabliſhing the belief I would reconcile to mens minds, but to endeavour the removal of thoſe *prejudices* they have received againſt it: the chief of which I ſhall particularly deal with. And I begin with that bold *Aſſertion*, That

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## SECT. II.

### I.

(I.) *THE* NOTION *of a* Spirit *is* impoſſible *and* contradictious, *and conſequently ſo is that of* Witches, *the belief of which is founded on that Doctrine.*

TO WHICH *OBJECTION* I *anſwer,*

(1) If the *notion* of a *Spirit* be *abſurd* as is pretended, that of a *GOD* and a *SOUL diſtinct* from *matter,* and *immortal,* are likewiſe *abſurdities.* And then, that the world was jumbled into this *elegant* and *orderly Fabrick* by *chance*; and that our *Souls* are onely parts of *matter* that came together we know not *whence* nor *how,* and ſhall again ſhortly be *diſſolv'd* into thoſe looſe *Atoms* that *compound* them; That all our *conceptions* are but the thruſting of one part of *matter* againſt another; and the *Idea's* of our minds mere blind and caſual *motions.* Theſe, and a thouſand more the groſſeſt *impoſſibilities* and *abſurdities* (conſequents of this *Propoſition, That the notion of a Spirit is abſurd*) will be ſad *certainties* and *demonſtrations.* And with ſuch Aſſertors I would ceaſe to diſcourſe about *Witches* and *Apparitions,* and addreſs my ſelf to obtain their aſſent to *Truths* infinitely more *ſacred.*

And yet (2) though it ſhould be granted them, that a *ſubſtance immaterial* is as much a *contradiction* as they can fancy; yet why ſhould they not believe that the *Air* and all the *Regions* above us, may have their *inviſible intellectual Agents,* of nature like unto our *Souls,* be that what it will, and ſome of them at leaſt as much degenerate as the *vileſt* and moſt

*miſchievous* among *men?* This *Hypotheſis* wil be enough to ſecure the poſſibility of *Witches* and *Apparitions.* And that all the upper *Stories* of the *Univerſe* are furniſh'd with *Inhabitants,* 'tis infinitely reaſonable to conclude, from the *analogy* of *Nature*; ſince we ſee there is nothing ſo contemptible and vile in the world we reſide in, but hath its living Creatures that dwell upon it; the *Earth,* the *Water,* the *inferiour Air,* the *bodies of Animals,* the *fleſh,* the *skin,* the *entrails*; the *leaves,* the *roots,* the *ſtalks of Vegetables*; yea, and all kind of *Minerals* in the *ſubterraneous Regions.* I ſay, all theſe have their proper *Inhabitants*; yea, I ſuppoſe this rule may hold in all diſtinct kinds of Bodies in the world, *That they have their peculiar Animals.* The certainty of which, I believe the improvement of *microſcopical Obſervations* will diſcover. From whence I infer, That ſince this little Spot is ſo *thickly peopled* in every *Atome* of it, 'tis weakneſs to think that all the vaſt *ſpaces* above, and *hollows* under ground, are *deſert* and *uninhabited.* And if both the *ſuperiour* and *lower Continents* of the *Univerſe* have their Inhabitants alſo, 'tis exceedingly improbable, arguing from the ſame *analogy,* that they are all of the meer *ſenſible nature,* but that there are at leaſt ſome of the *Rational* and *Intellectual* Orders. Which ſuppoſed, there is good foundation for the belief of *Witches* and *Apparitions,* though the notion of a *Spirit* ſhould

ſhould prove as *abſurd*, and *unphiloſophical*, as I judge the denial of it. And ſo this firſt Objection comes to nothing. I deſcend then to the ſecond *Prejudice*, which may be thus formed in behalf of the *Objectors*.

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## SECT. III.

### II.

(II.) *THERE ARE* Actions *in moſt of thoſe* Relations *aſcribed to* Witches, *which are* ridiculous *and* impoſſible *in the nature of* things; *ſuch are* (1) *their flying out of* windows, *after they have anointed themſelves, to remote places.* (2) *Their* transformation *into Cats, Hares, and other Creatures.* (3) *Their* feeling *all the* hurts *in their own* bodies *which they have received in thoſe.* (4) *Their raiſing* Tempeſts, *by muttering ſome nonſenſical words, or performing ceremonies alike impertinent as ridiculous. And* (5) *their being* ſuck'd *in a certain private place of their* bodies *by a* Familiar. *Theſe are preſumed to be actions inconſiſtent with the nature of* Spirits, *and above the powers of thoſe poor and miſerable Agents. And therefore the* Objection *ſuppoſeth them performed onely by the* Fancy; *and that the whole myſtery of* Witchcraft *is but an* illuſion *of* craſie imagination.

TO this *aggregate Objection* I return, (1) In the general, The more *abſurd* and *unaccountable* theſe actions ſeem, the greater *confirmations* are they to me of the *truth* of thoſe *Relations*, and the reality of what the *Objectors* would deſtroy. For theſe circumſtances being exceeding *unlikely*, judging by the meaſures of common belief, 'tis the greater probability they are not *fictitious*: For the contrivers of *Fictions* uſe to form them as near as they can conformably to the moſt *unſuſpected realities*, endeavouring to make them look as *like truth* as is poſſible in the main *ſuppoſals*, though withal they make them ſtrange in the *circumſtance*. None but a fool or madman would relate, with a purpoſe of having it believed, that he ſaw in *Ireland Men* with *hoofs* on their *heads*, and *eyes* in their *breaſts*; or if any ſhould be ſo ridiculouſly vain, as to be ſerious in ſuch an *incredible Romance*, it cannot be ſuppoſed that all *Travellers* that come into thoſe parts after him ſhould tell the ſame ſtory. There is a large *field* in *fiction*; and if all thoſe *Relations* were *arbitrary compoſitions*, doubtleſs the firſt *Romancers* would have framed them more agreeable to the common doctrine of *Spirits*; at leaſt, after theſe *ſuppoſed abſurdities* had been a thouſand times laugh'd at, people by this time would have learn'd to correct thoſe *obnoxious extravagancies*; and though they

they have not yet more *veracity* than the Ages of *Ignorance* and *Superſtition*, yet one would expect they ſhould have got more *cunning*. This ſuppos'd *impoſſibility* then of theſe performances, ſeems to me a *probable argument* that they are not wilful and deſigned Forgeries. And if they are *Fancies*, 'tis ſomewhat ſtrange, that *Imagination*, which is the moſt *various thing* in all the *world*, ſhould infinitely repeat the ſame *conceit* in all times and places.

But again (2) the ſtrange *Actions* related of *Witches*, and preſumed *impoſſible*, are not aſcribed to their own powers; but to the Agency of thoſe wicked *Confederates* they imploy. And to affirm that thoſe *evil ſpirits* cannot do that which we conceit *impoſſible*, is boldly to ſtint the powers of Creatures, whoſe natures and faculties we know not; and to meaſure the world of *Spirits* by the narrow rules of our own *impotent beings*. We ſee among our ſelves the *performances* of ſome out-go the *conceits* and *poſſibilities* of others; and we know many things may be done by the *Mathematicks* and *Mechanick Artifice*, which common heads think *impoſſible* to be effected by the honeſt ways of *Art* and *Nature*. And doubtleſs, the *ſubtilties* and *powers* of thoſe *miſchievous Fiends* are as much beyond the reach and activities of the moſt knowing *Agents* among us, as theirs are beyond the wit and ability of the moſt *ruſtick* and *illiterate*. So that the utmoſt that

any mans reaſon in the world can amount to in this particular, is onely this, That he cannot *conceive* how ſuch things can be performed; which onely argues the *weakneſs* and *imperfection* of our *knowledge* and *apprehenſions*, not the *impoſſibility* of thoſe performances: and we can no more from hence form an Argument againſt them, than againſt the moſt *ordinary effects in Nature*. We cannot conceive how the *Fœtus* is form'd in the *Womb*, nor as much as how a *Plant* ſprings from the *Earth* we tread on; we know not how our *Souls move* the *Body*, nor how theſe diſtant and extream *natures* are *united*: as I have abundantly ſhewn in my *SCEPSIS SCIENTIFICA*. And if we are ignorant of the moſt *obvious* things about us, and the moſt *conſiderable within* our ſelves, 'tis then no wonder that we know not the *conſtitution* and *powers* of the *Creatures*, to whom we are ſuch ſtrangers. Briefly then, *matters of fact* well proved ought not to be denied, becauſe we cannot *conceive how* they can be performed. Nor is it a reaſonable method of inference, firſt to preſume the thing *impoſſible*, and thence to conclude that the *fact* cannot be *proved*. On the contrary, we ſhould judge of the *action* by the *evidence*, and not the *evidence* by the meaſures of our fancies about the *action*. This is proudly to exalt our own *opinions* above the cleareſt *teſtimonies* and moſt ſenſible *demonſtrations* of *fact*: and ſo to

give

give the *Lye* to all *Mankind*, rather than diſtruſt the *conceits* of our bold *imaginations*. But yet further,

(3) I think there is nothing in the *inſtances* mention'd, but what may as well be accounted for by the Rules of *Reaſon* and *Philoſophy*, as the ordinary affairs of *Nature*. For in reſolving *natural Phænomena*, we can onely aſſign the probable *cauſes*, ſheing how things *may be*, not preſuming how they *are*. And in the particulars under our *Examen*, we may give an account how 'tis *poſſible*, and not *unlikely*, that ſuch things (though ſomewhat varying from the common *road* of *Nature*) may be acted. And if our narrow and contracted minds can furniſh us with apprehenſions of the way and manner of ſuch performances, though perhaps not the true ones, 'tis an argument that ſuch things may be effected by creatures whoſe powers and knowledge are ſo vaſtly exceeding ours. I ſhall endeavour therefore briefly to ſuggeſt ſome things that may render the *poſſibility* of theſe performances *conceivable*, in order to the removal of this *Objection*, that they are *contradictions* and *impoſſible*.

For the *FIRST* then, That the *confederate Spirit* ſhould tranſport the *Witch* through the Air to the place of general *Rendezvous*, there is no difficulty in conceiving it; and if that be true which great Philoſophers affirm, concerning the real *ſeparability* of the *Soul*

from the *Body* without *death*, there is yet *leſs*; for then 'tis eaſie to apprehend, that the *Soul* having left its groſs and ſluggiſh *body* behind it, and being cloath'd onely with its *immediate vehicle of Air*, or more *ſubtile matter*, may be quickly conducted to any place it would be at by thoſe *officious Spirits* that attend it. And though I adventure to affirm nothing concerning the truth and certainty of this *Suppoſition*, yet I muſt needs ſay, it doth not ſeem to me *unreaſonable*. And our experience of *Apoplexies*, *Epilepſies*, *Ecſtaſies*, and the ſtrange things men report to have ſeen during thoſe *Deliquiums*, look favourably upon this *conjecture*; which ſeems to me to contradict no *principle* of *Reaſon* or *Philoſophy*; ſince *Death* conſiſts not ſo much in the *actual ſeparation of Soul and Body*, as in the *indiſpoſition* and *unfitneſs of the Body for vital union*, as an excellent Philoſopher hath made good. On which *Hypotheſis*, the *Witches anointing* her ſelf before ſhe takes her flight, may perhaps ſerve to keep the Body *tenantable*, and in fit *diſpoſition* to receive the *Spirit* at its return. Theſe things, I ſay, we may conceive, though I affirm nothing about them; and there is not any thing in ſuch *conceptions* but what hath been own'd by men of worth and name, and may ſeem *fair* and *accountable* enough to thoſe who judge not altogether by the meaſures of the *populace* and *cuſtomary opinion*. And there's a ſaying of the great

great *Apoſtle* that ſeems to countenance this *Platonick* notion; what is the meaning elſe of that expreſſion, [*Whether in the body or out of the body, I cannot tell*] except the *Soul* may be ſeparated from the *Body* without *death*? which if it be granted *poſſible*, 'tis ſufficient for my purpoſe. And

(2) The *Transformations* of *Witches* into the *ſhapes* of other *Animals*, upon the ſame ſuppoſal is very *conceivable*, ſince then 'tis eaſie enough to imagine, that the power of *imagination* may form thoſe *paſſive* and *pliable vehicles* into thoſe *ſhapes*, with more eaſe than the fancy of the *Mother* can the ſtubborn matter of the *Fœtus* in the womb, as we ſee it frequently doth in the inſtances that occur of *Signatures* and *monſtrous Singularities*; and perhaps ſometimes the *confederate Spirit* puts tricks upon the ſenſes of the *Spectators*, and thoſe *ſhapes* are onely *illuſions*.

But then (3) when they feel the *hurts* in their groſs bodies, that they receive in their *airy vehicles*, they muſt be ſuppoſed to have been really preſent, at leaſt in theſe latter; and 'tis no more difficult to apprehend how the hurts of *thoſe* ſhould be tranſlated upon their other *bodies*, than how *diſeaſes* ſhould be *inflicted* by the *imagination*, or how the *fancy* of the *Mother* ſhould wound the *Fœtus*, as ſeveral credible relations do atteſt.

And (4) for their raiſing *Storms* and *Tem-*

*peſts*

*peſts*, They do it not, be ſure, by their *own*, but by the *power* of the *Prince* of the *Air*, their Friend and Allie; and the *Ceremonies* that are enjoyn'd them are doubtleſs nothing elſe but *entertainments* for their *imaginations*, and are likely deſign'd to perſwade them, that *they* do theſe ſtrange things *themſelves*.

And (laſtly) for their being *ſuck'd* by the *Familiar*, I ſay (1) we know ſo little of the nature of *Dæmons* and *Spirits*, that 'tis no wonder we cannot certainly divine the reaſon of ſo ſtrange an action. And yet (2) we may conjecture at ſome things that may render it leſs *improbable*. For ſome have thought that the *Genii* (whom both the *Platonical* and *Chriſtian Antiquity* thought *embodied*) are recreated by the *reeks* and *vapours* of *humane blood*, and the *ſpirits* that proceed from them: Which ſuppoſal (if we grant them bodies) is not unlikely, every thing being *refreſh'd* and *nouriſh'd* by its like. And that they are not perfectly *abſtract* from all *body* and *matter*, beſides the reverence we owe to the wiſeſt antiquity, there are ſeveral conſiderable Arguments I could alledge to render it exceeding probable. Which things ſuppoſed, the *Devil's ſucking* the *Sorcereſs* is no great wonder, nor difficult to be accounted for. Or perhaps (3) this may be onely a *diabolical Sacrament* and *Ceremony* to confirm the *helliſh Covenant*. To which I add, (4) That which to me ſeems

moſt

moſt probable, *viz.* That the *Familiar* doth not onely ſuck the *Witch*, but in the action infuſeth ſome *poyſonous ferment* into her, which gives her Imagination and Spirits a *magical tincture*, whereby they become *miſchievouſly influential*; and the word *veneſica* intimates ſome ſuch matter. Now that the *imagination* hath a mighty power in *operation*, is ſeen in the juſt now mention'd *Signatures* and *Diſeaſes* that it cauſeth; and that the *fancy* is modified by the *qualities* of the *blood* and *ſpirits*, is too evident to need proof. Which things ſuppoſed, 'tis plain to conceive that the *evil ſpirit* having breath'd ſome vile *vapour* into the *body* of the *Witch*, it may taint her *blood* and *ſpirits* with a *noxious quality*, by which her *infected imagination*, heightned by *melancholy* and this worſe cauſe, may do much hurt upon *bodies* that are impreſſible by ſuch *influences*. And 'tis very likely that this *ferment* diſpoſeth the *imagination* of the *Sorcereſs* to cauſe the mentioned ἀφαιρεσία, or *ſeparation* of the *Soul* from the *Body*, and may perhaps keep the *Body* in fit temper for *its re-entry*; as alſo it may facilitate *transformation*, which, it may be, could not be effected by *ordinary* and *unaſſiſted* imagination.

Thus we ſee, 'tis not ſo deſperate to form an apprehenſion of the manner of theſe odd performances; and though they are not done the way I have deſcrib'd, yet what I have ſaid may help

help us to a conceit of the poſſibility, which ſufficeth for my purpoſe. And though the *Hypotheſes* I have gone upon will ſeem as *unlikely* to ſome, as the things they attempt to explain are to others; yet I muſt deſire their leave to ſuggeſt, that moſt things ſeem *improbable* (eſpecially to the *conceited* and *opinionative*) at firſt *propoſal*: and many great *truths* are *ſtrange* and *odd*, till *cuſtome* and *acquaintance* have reconciled them to our fancies. And I'le preſume to add on this occaſion, (though I love not to be confident in *affirming*) that there is none of the *Platonical ſuppoſals* I have uſed, but what I could make appear to be *fair* and *reaſonable*, to the capable and unprejudic'd.

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## SECT. IV.

### III.

BUT (III.) *I come to another* prejudice *againſt the being of* Witches, *which is*, *That 'tis very improbable that the* Devil, *who is a* wiſe *and* mighty Spirit, *ſhould be at the beck of a poor* Hag, *and have ſo little to do, as to attend the* Errands *and impotent* Luſts *of a ſilly* Old woman.

TO which I might anſwer, (1) That 'tis much more *improbable* that all the *world*

*world* ſhould be *deceiv'd* in *matters* of *fact*, and circumſtances of the cleareſt evidence and conviction; than that the *Devil*, who is *wicked*, ſhould be alſo *unwiſe*; and that he that perſwades all his ſubjects and accomplices out of their wits, ſhould himſelf act like his own Temptations and Perſwaſions. In brief, there is nothing more ſtrange in this Objection, than that *wickedneſs is baſeneſs and ſervility*; and that the *Devil* is at leiſure to ſerve thoſe, he is at leiſure to *tempt*, and induſtrious to *ruine*. And again, (2) I ſee no *neceſſity* to believe that the *Devil* is always the *Witches Confederate*; but perhaps it may fitly be conſidered, whether the *Familiar* be not ſome *departed humane Spirit*, forſaken of God and goodneſs, and ſwallowed up by the unſatiable deſire of miſchief and revenge, which poſſibly by the *Laws* and *capacity* of its *ſtate* it cannot execute *immediately*. And why we ſhould preſume that the *Devil* ſhould have the liberty of wandring up and down the Earth and Air, when he is ſaid to be *held* in the *Chains* of *darkneſs*; and yet that the *ſeparated Souls* of the *wicked*, of whom no ſuch thing is affirm'd in any *ſacred Record*, ſhould be thought ſo *impriſon'd*, that they cannot poſſibly wag from the place of their *confinement*, I know no ſhadow of conjecture. This *conceit* I'm confident hath prejudic'd many againſt the belief of *Witches* and *Apparitions*; they not being able to conceive that the *Devil* ſhould

ſhould be ſo *ludicrous* as *appearing ſpirits* are ſometimes reported to be in their *frolicks*; and they preſume, that *ſouls departed never reviſit the free and open Regions*; which confidence, I know nothing to juſtifie: For ſince good men in their *ſtate* of *ſeparation* are ſaid to be ἰσάγγελοι, why the *wicked* may not be ſuppoſed to be ἰσοδαίμονες in the worſt ſenſe of the word, I know nothing to help me to imagine. And if it be ſuppoſed that the *Imps* of *Witches* are ſometimes wicked *ſpirits* of our *own kind* and *nature*, and poſſibly the ſame that have been *Sorcerers* and *Witches* in this life: This ſuppoſal may give a fairer and more probable account of many of the actions of *Sorcery* and *Witchcraft*, than the other *Hypotheſis*, that they are always *Devils*. And to this conjecture I'le adventure to ſubjoyn another, which alſo hath its *probability*, viz. (3) That 'tis not impoſſible but the *Familiars of Witches* are a vile kind of *ſpirits*, of a very inferiour Conſtitution and nature, and none of thoſe that were once of the higheſt *Hierarchy*, now degenerated into the *ſpirits* we call *Devils*. And for my part I muſt confeſs, that I think the common *diviſion of ſpirits* much too general; conceiving it likely there may be as great a *variety* of *intellectual Creatures* in the *inviſible world*, as there is of *Animals* in the *viſible*: and that all the *ſuperiour*, yea, and *inferiour* Regions, have their ſeveral kinds of *ſpirits* differing in their *natural*

*per-*

*perfections*, as well as in the *kinds* and *degrees* of their *depravities*; which being ſuppoſed, 'tis very probable that thoſe of the *baſeſt* and *meaneſt* Orders are they, who ſubmit to the mention'd *ſervilities*. And thus the *ſageſs* and *grandeur* of the *Prince* of *darkneſs* need not be brought into queſtion.

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## SECT. V.

### IV.

BUt (IV) *the opinion of* Witches *ſeems to ſome, to accuſe* Providence, *and to ſuggeſt that it hath expoſed* Innocents *to the fury and malice of* revengeful Fiends; *yea, and ſuppoſeth thoſe moſt* obnoxious, *for whom we might moſt reaſonably expect a more ſpecial* tutelary *care and protection*; *moſt of the cruel practices of thoſe preſum'd* Inſtruments *of* Hell, *being upon* Children, *who as they leaſt deſerve to be deſerted by that* Providence *that ſuperintends all things, ſo they moſt need its* guardian influence.

TO this ſo ſpecious an *Objection* I have theſe things to anſwer.

(1) *Providence* is an unfathomable Depth; and if we ſhould not believe the *Phænomena* of our *ſenſes*, before we can reconcile them to our *notions* of *Providence*, we muſt be groſſer *Scepticks*

*pticks* than ever yet were extant. The *miſeries* of the *preſent life*, the *unequal diſtributions* of *good and evil*, the *ignorance* and *barbarity* of the greateſt part of Mankind, the *fatal diſadvantages* we are all under, and the *hazard* we run of being eternally miſerable and undone; theſe, I ſay, are things that can hardly be made *conſiſtent* with that *Wiſdom* and *Goodneſs* that we are ſure hath *made* and *mingled it ſelf* with all things. And yet we believe there is a *beauty* and *harmony*, and *goodneſs* in that *Providence*, though we cannot *unriddle* it in *particular inſtances*; nor, by reaſon of our ignorance and imperfection, clear it from *contradicting appearances*; and conſequently, we ought not to deny the being of *Witches* and *Apparitions*, becauſe they will create us ſome difficulties in our *notions* of *Providence*. But to come more cloſe, (2) Thoſe that believe that *Infants* are *Heirs of Hell*, and *Children of the Devil* as ſoon as they are *diſcloſed* to the world, cannot certainly offer ſuch an Objection; for what is a little *trifling pain* of a moment, to thoſe *eternal Tortures*, to which, if they *die aſſoon as they are born*, according to the Tenour of this Doctrine, they are *everlaſtingly expoſed*? But however the caſe ſtands as to *that*, 'tis certain, (3) That *Providence* hath not ſecured them from *other violences* they are obnoxious to, from *cruelty* and *accident*; and yet we accuſe *It* not when a whole Townful of *Innocents* fall a *Victim* to the

the *rage* and *ferity* of *barbarous Executioners* in *Wars* and *Maſſacres*. To which I add (4) That 'tis likely the *miſchief* is not ſo often done by the *evil ſpirit immediately*, but by the *malignant* influence of the *Sorcereſs*, whoſe *power* of hurting conſiſts in the fore-mention'd *ferment*, which is *infuſed* into her by the *Familiar*. So that I am apt to think there may be a *power* of *real faſcination* in the *Witches eyes* and *imagination*, by which for the moſt part ſhe acts upon *tender* bodies. *Neſcio quis teneros oculus* ——.—— For the *peſtilential ſpirits* being darted by a *ſpightful and vigorous imagination* from the *eye*, and meeting with *thoſe* that are *weak* and *paſſive* in the bodies which they enter, will not fail to infect them with a *noxious quality* that makes *dangerous* and *ſtrange alterations* in the perſon invaded by this *poiſonous influence*: which way of acting by ſubtile and *inviſible inſtruments*, is *ordinary* and *familiar* in all natural *efficiencies*. And 'tis now paſt queſtion, that *nature* for the moſt part acts by *ſubtile ſtreams* and *aporrhœa's* of *minute particles*, which paſs from one body to another. Or however that be, this kind of *agency* is as *conceivable* as any of thoſe *qualities ignorance* hath call'd *Sympathy* and *Antipathy*, the reality of which we doubt not, though the manner of *action* be *unknown*. Yea, the thing I ſpeak of is as eaſie to be apprehended, as how *infection* ſhould paſs in certain *tenuious ſtreams* through

the *Air* from one houſe to another; or, as how the *biting* of a *mad Dog* ſhould fill all the *Blood* and *Spirits* with a *venomous* and *malign ferment*; the application of the *vertue* doing the ſame in our caſe, as *that* of *contact* doth in *this*. Yea, ſome kinds of *faſcination* are perform'd in this groſſer and more ſenſible way, as by *ſtriking*, giving *Apples*, and the like, by which the *contagious quality* may be tranſmitted, as we ſee *Diſeaſes* often are by the *touch*. Now in this way of conjecture a good account may be given why *Witches* are moſt powerful upon *Children* and timorous perſons, *viz.* becauſe their *ſpirits* and *imaginations* being *weak* and *paſſive*, are not able to reſiſt the *fatal invaſion*; whereas men of bold minds, who have plenty of *ſtrong* and *vigorous ſpirits*, are ſecure from the *contagion*; as in *peſtilential Airs clean* bodies are not ſo liable to infection as other tempers. Thus then we ſee 'tis likely enough, that very often the *Sorcereſs* her ſelf doth the *miſchief*; and we know, *de facto*, that *Providence* doth not always ſecure us from one anothers *injuries*: And yet I muſt confeſs, that many times alſo the evil *ſpirit* is the *miſchievous Agent*; though this confeſſion draw on me another Objection, which I next propoſe.

SECT.

## SECT. VI.

### V.

(V.) *THEN it may be ſaid, that if* wicked ſpirits *can hurt us by the* direction, *and at the deſire of a* Witch, *one would think they ſhould have the ſame power to do us injury without* inſtigation *or* compact; *and if this be granted, 'tis a wonder that we are not always annoy'd and infeſted by them.* To which

I RETURN, (1) That the *Laws, Liberties,* and *Reſtraints* of the *Inhabitants* of the other *world* are to us utterly *unknown*; and this way we can onely argue our ſelves into *confeſſions* of our *ignorance,* which every man muſt acknowledge that is not as *immodeſt* as *ignorant.* It muſt be granted by all that own the *being, power,* and *malice* of evil *Spirits,* that the *ſecurity* we enjoy is *wonderful,* whether they act by *Witches* or not; and by what *Laws* they are kept from making us a prey, to ſpeak like *Philoſophers, we cannot tell:* yea, why they ſhould be permitted to tempt and ruine us in our *Souls,* and reſtrain'd from touching or hurting us in our *Bodies*, is a *myſtery* not eaſily *accountable.* But yet (2) though we acknowledge their power to vex and torment us in

our Bodies alſo; yet a reaſon may be given why they are leſs frequent in this kind of miſchief, *viz.* becauſe their main deſigns are levell'd againſt the intereſt and happineſs of our Souls; which they can beſt promote, when their actions are moſt *ſly* and *ſecret*; whereas did they ordinarily perſecute men in their Bodies, their *agency* and *wicked influence* would be diſcover'd, and make a mighty noiſe in the world, whereby men would be awaken'd to a ſuitable and vigorous oppoſition, by the uſe of ſuch means as would engage *Providence* to reſcue them from their *rage* and *cruelties*; and at laſt defeat them in their great purpoſes of *undoing us eternally.* Thus we may conceive that the *ſecurity* we enjoy may well enough *conſiſt* with the *power* and *malice* of thoſe *evil Spirits*; and upon this account we may ſuppoſe that *Laws* of their own may prohibit their *unlicens'd injuries*, not from any *goodneſs* there is in their *Conſtitutions*, but in order to the more *ſucceſsful* carrying on the *projects* of the *dark Kingdom*; as *Generals* forbid *Plunder*, not out of *love* to their Enemies, but in order to their own *Succeſs.* And hence (3) we may ſuppoſe a *Law* of *permiſſion* to hurt us at the inſtance of the *Sorcereſs*, may well ſtand with the *polity* of *Hell*, ſince by gratifying the wicked perſon, they encourage her in *malice* and *revenge*, and promote thereby the main ends of their *black confederacy*, which are to propa-

gate

gate *wickedneſs*, and to ruine us in our *eternal intereſts*. And yet (4) 'tis clear to thoſe that believe the *Hiſtory* of the *Goſpel*, that *wicked ſpirits* have vexed the bodies of men, without any *inſtigation* that we read of; and at this day 'tis very likely that many of the *ſtrange accidents* and *diſeaſes* that befal us, may be the *infliction* of *evil ſpirits*, prompted to hurt us onely by the delight they take in *miſchief*. So that we cannot argue the improbability of their hurting *Children* and others by *Witches*, from our own *ſecurity* and *freedom* from the effects of their *malice*, which perhaps we feel in more inſtances than we are aware of.

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## SECT. VII.

### VI.

BUT (VI) *another* prejudice *againſt the belief of* Witches, *is*, *a preſumption upon the* enormous force *of* melancholy *and* imagination, *which without doubt can do* wonderful *things*, *and beget* ſtrange *perſwaſions*; *and to theſe cauſes ſome aſcribe the preſum'd effects of* Sorcery *and* Witchcraft. To which I reply briefly; and yet I hope ſufficiently,

(1) THAT to reſolve all the *clear* circumſtances of *Fact*, which we find in

well-atteſted and confirm'd Relations of this kind, into the power of *deceivable imagination*, is to make *fancy* the greater *prodigie*; and to ſuppoſe, that it can do *ſtranger feats* than are believed of any other kind of *faſcination*. And to think that *Pins* and *Nails*, for inſtance, can by the power of *imagination* be convey'd within the skin; or that *imagination* ſhould deceive ſo many as have been witneſſes in *Objects* of *ſenſe*, in all the circumſtances of *diſcovery*; this, I ſay, is to be infinitely more *credulous* than the aſſertors of *Sorcery* and *Demoniack Contracts*. And by the ſame reaſon it may be believ'd, that all the *Battles* and *ſtrange events* of the world, which our ſelves have not ſeen, are but *dreams* and fond *imaginations*, and like thoſe that are fought in the *Clouds*, when the *Brains* of the *deluded Spectators* are the onely *Theatre* of thoſe *fancied tranſactions*. And (2) to deny evidence of *act*, becauſe *their imagination may* deceive the *Relators*, when we have no reaſon to think ſo but a bare preſumption that there is no ſuch thing as is related, is quite to deſtroy the credit of all *humane teſtimony*, and to make *all men liars* in a larger ſence than the *Prophet* concluded in his *haſte*. For not onely the *melancholick* and the *fanciful*, but the *grave* and the *ſober*, whoſe judgements we have no reaſon to ſuſpect to be tainted by their *imaginations*, have from their own knowledge and experience made reports of this nature. But

to

to this it will possibly be rejoyn'd, and the *Reply* will be another *prejudice* against the belief for which I contend, *viz.*

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## SECT. VIII.

### VII.

(VII.) *THAT 'tis a suspicious circumstance that* Witchcraft *is but a* fancy, *since the persons that are accused are commonly* poor *and* miserable old women, *who are overgrown with* discontent *and* melancholy, *which are very* imaginative; *and the persons said to be* bewitch'd *are for the most part* Children, *or people very weak, who are easily imposed upon, and are apt to receive* strong impressions *from nothing: whereas were there any such thing really, 'tis not likely, but that the more* cunning *and* subtil desperado's, *who might the more successfully carry on the* mischievous designs *of the* dark *Kingdom, should be oftner engaged in those* black confederacies, *and also one would expect effects of the* hellish combination *upon others than the* innocent *and* ignorant.

TO which *Objection* it might perhaps be enough to return (as hath been above suggested) that nothing can be concluded by *this* and such like arguings, but that the *policy*

and *menages* of the *Instruments* of *darkneſs* are to us altogether *unknown*, and as much in the dark as their natures; Mankind being no more acquainted with the *reaſons* and *methods* of action in the other world, than poor *Cottagers* and *Mechanicks* are with the *Intrigues of Government*, and *Reaſons of State*. Yea peradventure (2) 'tis one of the great deſigns, as 'tis certainly the *intereſt* of thoſe wicked *Agents* and *Machinators*, induſtriouſly to hide from us their *influences* and *ways* of acting, and to work, as near as is poſſible, *incognito*: upon which ſuppoſal 'tis eaſie to conceive a reaſon, why they moſt commonly work by, and upon the weak and the ignorant, who can make no *cunning obſervations*, or tell *credible tales* to detect their *artifice*. Beſides (3) 'tis likely a *ſtrong imagination*, that cannot be *weaken'd* or *diſturb'd* by a buſie and ſubtile *ratiocination*, is a neceſſary requiſite to thoſe wicked performances; and without doubt an *heightned* and *obſtinate fancy* hath a great influence upon *impreſſible ſpirits*; yea, and as I have conjectur'd before, on the more *paſſive* and *ſuſceptible bodies*. And I am very apt to believe, that there are as *real communications* and *intercourſes* between our *Spirits*, as there are between *material Agents*; which *ſecret influences*, though they are unknown in their *nature* and *ways* of *acting*, yet they are ſufficiently felt in their *effects*: for *experience* atteſts, that ſome by the very

very *majeſty* and *greatneſs* of their *Spirits*, diſcovered by nothing but a certain *noble air* that accompanies them, will *bear down* others *leſs great* and *generous*, and make them *ſneak* before them; and ſome, by I know not what *ſtupifying vertue*, will tie up the *tongue*, and confine the *ſpirits* of thoſe who are otherwiſe *brisk* and *voluble*. Which thing ſuppoſed, the *influences* of a *Spirit* poſſeſs'd of an *active* and *enormous imagination*, may be *malign* and *fatal* where they cannot be reſiſted; eſpecially when they are accompanied by thoſe *poyſonous reaks* that the *evil ſpirit* breathes into the *Sorcereſs*, which likely are *ſhot* out, and applied by a *fancy* heightned and prepared by *melancholy* and *diſcontent*. And thus we may conceive why the *melancholick* and *envious* are uſed upon ſuch occaſions, and for the ſame reaſon the *ignorant*, ſince *knowledge* checks and controuls *imagination*; and thoſe that abound much in the *imaginative faculties*, do not uſually exceed in the *rational*. And perhaps (4) the *Dæmon* himſelf uſeth the *imagination* of the *Witch* ſo *qualified* for his purpoſe, even in thoſe actions of miſchief which are more properly his; for it is moſt probable, that *Spirits* act not upon *bodies immediately*, and by their *naked eſſence*, but by *means proportionate*, and ſutable *inſtruments* that they uſe; upon which account likely 'tis ſo ſtrictly required, that the *Sorcereſs* ſhould *believe*, that ſo her *imagination* might be more at the *devotion*

*tion* of the *miſchievous Agent*. And for the ſame reaſon alſo *Ceremonies* are uſed in *Inchantments*, viz. for the begetting this *diabolical faith*, and heightning the *fancy* to a degree of *ſtrength* and *vigour* ſufficient to make it a fit *inſtrument* for the deſign'd performance. Thoſe I think are reaſons of likelihood and probability, why the *helliſh Confederates* are moſtly the *ignorant* and the *melancholick*. To paſs then to another prejudice.

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## SECT. IX.

### VIII.

(VIII.) THE *frequent* impoſtures *that are met with in this kind, beget in ſome a belief, that all ſuch* Relations *are* Forgeries *and* Tales; *and if we urge the evidence of a* ſtory *for the belief of* Witches *or* Apparitions, *they will produce two as* ſeemingly ſtrong *and* plauſible, *which ſhall conclude in* miſtake *or* deſign; *inferring thence, that all others are of the ſame quality and credit*. But ſuch arguers may pleaſe to conſider,

(1) THAT a *ſingle relation* for an *Affirmative*, ſufficiently confirmed and atteſted, is worth a thouſand *tales* of *forgery* and *impoſture*, from whence an *univerſal Negative* cannot

cannot be concluded. So that, though all the *Objectors ſtories* be *true*, and an hundred times as many more ſuch *deceptions*; yet one *relation*, wherein no *fallacy* or *fraud* could be ſuſpected for our *Affirmative*, would ſpoil any *Concluſion* could be erected on them. And

(2) It ſeems to me a belief ſufficiently *bold* and *precarious*, that *all* theſe relations of *forgery* and *miſtake* ſhould be certain, and not one among all thoſe which atteſt the *Affirmative reality*, with circumſtances as good as could be expected, or wiſh'd, ſhould be *true*; but all *fabulous* and *vain*. And they have no reaſon to object *credulity* to the aſſertors of *Sorcery* and *Witchcraft*, that can ſwallow ſo large a morſel. And I deſire ſuch Objectors to conſider,

(3) Whether it be fair to infer, that becauſe there are ſome *Cheats* and *Impoſtures*, that therefore there are no *Realities*. Indeed frequency of deceit and fallacy will warrant a greater care and caution in *examining*; and *ſcrupuloſity* and *ſhineſs* of *aſſent* to things wherein fraud hath been *practiſed*, or may in the leaſt degree be *ſuſpected*: But, to conclude, becauſe that an old woman's *fancy* abuſed her, or ſome *knaviſh* fellows put tricks upon the *ignorant* and *timorous*, that therefore whole *Aſſiſes* have been a thouſand times deceived in *judgements* upon *matters* of *fact*, and numbers of ſober perſons have been *forſworn* in things

wherein

wherein *perjury* could not advantage them; I say, such *inferences* are as void of *reason*, as they are of *charity* and *good manners*.

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## SECT. X.

### IX.

BUT (IX) *it may be suggested further, That it cannot be imagin'd what* design *the* Devil *should have in making those* solemn compacts, *since persons of such debauch'd and irreclaimable dispositions as those with whom he is supposed to* confederate, *are pretty securely his, antecedently to the bargain, and cannot be more so by it, since they cannot put their* Souls *out of* possibility *of the* Divine Grace, *but by the* Sin *that is* unpardonable; *or if they could so dispose and give away themselves, it will to some seem very unlikely, that a great and mighty* Spirit *should oblige himself to such observances, and keep such ado to secure the Soul of a silly Body, which 'twere odds but it would be* His, *though* He *put himself to no further trouble than that of his* ordinary temptations.

TO which *suggestions* 'twere enough to say, that 'tis sufficient if the thing be well *prov'd*, though the design be not known. And to argue *negatively à fine*, is very unconclusive

cluſive in ſuch matters. The Laws and Affairs of the other world (as hath been intimated) are vaſtly differing from thoſe of our Regions, and therefore 'tis no wonder we cannot judge of their *deſigns*, when we know nothing of their *menages*, and ſo *little* of their *natures*. The ignorant *looker-on* can't imagine what the *Limner* means by thoſe ſeemingly *rude Lines* and *ſcrawls* which he intends for the *Rudiments* of a *Picture*; and the *Figures* of *Mathematick operation* are *nonſence*, and *daſhes* at *a venture*, to one uninſtructed in *Mechanicks*. We are in the dark to *one anothers* purpoſes and intendments; and there are a thouſand intrigues in our little matters, which will not preſently confeſs their deſign even to *ſagacious inquiſitors*. And therefore 'tis folly and incogitancy to argue any thing one way or other from the *deſigns* of a ſort of Beings, with whom we ſo little communicate; and poſſibly we can take no more aim, or gueſs at their *projects* and *deſignments*, than the *gazing Beaſts* can do at ours, when they ſee the *Traps* and *Gins* that are laid for them, but underſtand nothing what they mean. Thus in general.

But I attempt ſomething more particularly, in order to which I muſt premiſe, that the *Devil* is a name for a *Body Politick*, in which there are very different *Orders* and *Degrees* of *Spirits*, and perhaps in as much *variety* of *place and ſtate*, as among our ſelves; ſo that 'tis

'tis not one and the ſame perſon that makes all the compacts with thoſe abuſed and ſeduced Souls, but they are divers, and thoſe 'tis like of the meaneſt and baſeſt quality in the *Kingdom of darkneſs*: which being ſuppoſed, I offer this account of the *probable deſign* of thoſe *wicked Agents*, viz. That having none to *rule* or *tyrannize* over within the *circle* of their own nature and government, they affect a *proud Empire* over us, (the deſire of *Dominion* and *Authority* being largely ſpread through the whole *circumference* of *degenerated nature*, eſpecially among thoſe, whoſe *pride* was their *original tranſgreſſion*) every one of theſe then deſires to get him Vaſſals to pay him homage, and to be employ'd like Slaves in the ſervices of his Luſts and Appetites; to gratifie which deſire, 'tis like enough to be provided and allowed by the conſtitution of their *State* and *Government*, that every *wicked ſpirit* ſhall have thoſe Souls as his *property*, and *particular ſervants* and *attendants*, whom he can *catch* in ſuch *compacts*; as thoſe *wild Beaſts* that we can take in *hunting*, are by the allowance of the Law our *own*; and thoſe Slaves that a man hath *purchas'd*, are his peculiar Goods, and the Vaſſals of his will. Or rather thoſe deluding Fiends are like the ſeducing fellows we call *Spirits*, who inveigle Children by their falſe and flattering promiſes, and carry them away to the *Plantations* of *America*, to be ſervilely em-

employed there in the works of their profit and advantage. And as thoſe baſe Agents will humour and flatter the ſimple unwary Youth, till they are on Shipboard, and without the reach of thoſe that might reſcue them from their hands: In like manner the more *miſchievous Tempter* ſtudies to gratifie, pleaſe, and accommodate thoſe he deals with in this kind, till death hath lanch'd them into the *Deep*, and they are paſt the danger of *Prayers*, *Repentance*, and *Endeavours*; and then *He uſeth* them as pleaſeth *Him*. This account I think is not unreaſonable, and 'twill fully anſwer the Objection. For though the matter be not as I have conjectur'd, yet 'twill ſuggeſt a way how it may be *conceiv'd*; which nulls the pretence, That the *Deſign* is *unconceivable*.

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## SECT. XI.

### X.

*BUT then* (X) *we are ſtill liable to be queſtion'd, how it comes about, that thoſe* proud *and* inſolent Deſigners *practiſe in this kind upon ſo* few, *when one would expect, that they ſhould be ſtill trading this way, and every where be driving on the project, which the vileneſs of men makes ſo feiſable, and would ſo much ſerve the intereſt of their luſts.*

To

TO which, among other things that might be ſuggeſted, I return,

(1) That we are never liable to be ſo betrayed and abuſed, till by our *vile diſpoſitions* and *tendencies* we have forfeited the *tutelary* care, and *overſight* of the better Spirits; who, though generally they are our guard and defence againſt the malice and violence of *evil Angels*, yet it may well enough be thought, that ſometimes they may take their leave of ſuch as are ſwallowed up by *Malice*, *Envie*, and *deſire* of *Revenge*, qualities moſt contrary to their *Life* and *Nature*; and leave them expoſed to the *invaſion* and *ſolicitations* of thoſe *wicked Spirits*, to whom ſuch hateful *Attributes* make them very *ſuitable*. And if there be particular *Guardian* Angels, as 'tis not abſurd to fancy, it may then well be ſuppoſed, that no man is obnoxious to thoſe projects and attempts, but onely ſuch whoſe *vile* and *miſchievous natures* have driven from them their *protecting Genius*. And againſt this dereliction to the power of *evil Spirits*, 'tis likely enough what ſome affirm, that the *Royal Pſalmiſt* directs that Prayer, *Pſal.* LXXI. ix, x. *Caſt me not off in the time of old age; forſake me not when my ſtrength faileth.* For-----*They that keep my Soul* [ φυλάσσοντες τὴν ψυχήν μου, as the LXX and the *Vulgar Latine*, *Qui cuſtodiunt animam meam* ] *they take counſel together, ſaying,*

*ing, God hath forſaken him, perſecute him and take him; for there is none to deliver him.* But I add, (2) That 'tis very probable, that the ſtate wherein they are, will not eaſily permit *palpable intercourſes* between the bad *Genii* and *Mankind*, ſince 'tis like enough that their own Laws and Government do not allow their frequent excurſions into this World. Or, it may with as great probability be ſuppoſed, that 'tis a very hard and painful thing for them, to force their *thin* and *tenuious* Bodies into a *viſible conſiſtence*, and ſuch ſhapes as are neceſſary for their *deſigns* in their *correſpondencies* with *Witches*. For in this action their Bodies muſt needs be exceedingly *compreſs'd*, which cannot well be without a painful ſenſe. And this is perhaps a reaſon why there are ſo *few Apparitions*, and why *appearing Spirits* are commonly in ſuch haſte to be gone, *viz.* that they may be deliver'd from the *unnatural preſſure* of their *tender vehicles*; which I confeſs holds more, in the *apparitions* of *good* than *evil Spirits*; moſt Relations of this kind, deſcribing their diſcoveries of themſelves, as very *tranſient*, (though for thoſe the holy Scripture records, there may be peculiar reaſon, why they are not ſo) whereas the *wicked ones* are not altogether ſo *quick*, and *haſty* in their *viſits*: The reaſon of which probably is, the great *ſubtilty* and *tenuity* of the Bodies of the former, which will require far greater degrees of *compreſſion*, and conſequent-

ly of *pain*, to make them *viſible*; whereas the latter are more *fæculent and groſs*, and ſo nearer allied to *palpable conſiſtencies*, and more eaſily reduceable to *appearance* and *viſibility*.

At this turn, Sir, you may perceive that I have again made uſe of the *Platonick Hypotheſis, That Spirits are embodied*, upon which indeed a great part of my Diſcourſe is grounded: And therefore I hold my ſelf obliged to a ſhort account of that ſuppoſal. *It ſeems* then to me very *probable*, from the nature of *Senſe*, and *Analogy* of *Nature*. For (1) we perceive in our ſelves, that all *Senſe* is cauſed and excited by *motion* made in *matter*; and when thoſe *motions* which convey *ſenſible impreſſions* to the *Brain*, the *Seat* of *Senſe*, are intercepted, *Senſe* is loſt: So that, if we ſuppoſe *Spirits* perfectly to be *disjoyn'd* from all *matter*, 'tis not conceivable how they can have the ſenſe of any thing; For how *material Objects* ſhould any way be perceived, or felt, without *vital union* with *matter*, 'tis not poſſible to imagine. Nor doth it (2) ſeem ſuitable to the *Analogy* of *Nature*, which uſeth not to make *precipitious leaps* from one thing to another, but uſually proceeds by *orderly ſteps* and *gradations*: whereas were there no *order* of *Beings* between *Us*, who are ſo deeply plunged into the groſſeſt matter, and *pure unbodied Spirits*, 'twere a mighty *jump* in Nature. Since then

then the greateſt part of the world conſiſts of the *finer* portions of matter, and our own Souls are *immediately united* unto *theſe*, 'tis infinitely probable to conjecture, that the nearer Orders of Spirits are *vitally joyned* to ſuch *Bodies*; and ſo *Nature* by *degrees* aſcending ſtill by the more *refin'd* and *ſubtile matter*, gets at laſt to the pure Nóes or *immaterial minds*, which the *Platoniſts* made the *higheſt Order of created Beings*. But of this I have diſcourſed elſewhere, and have ſaid thus much of it at preſent, becauſe it will enable me to add another Reaſon of the *unfrequency* of *Apparitions* and *Compacts*, *viz.*

(3) Becauſe 'tis very likely, that *theſe Regions* are very *unſuitable*, and *diſproportion'd* to the *frame* and *temper* of their *Senſes* and *Bodies*; ſo that perhaps, the *courſer Spirits* can no more bear the *Air* of our World, than *Bats* and *Owls* can the brighteſt Beams of Day. Nor can the *purer* and *better* any more endure the *noiſom ſteams*, and *poyſonous reeks* of this *Dunghil Earth*, than the *delicate* can bear a confinement in *naſty Dungeons*, and the foul *ſqualid Caverns* of uncomfortable Darkneſs. So that 'tis no more wonder, that the better Spirits no oftner appear, than that men are not more frequently in the *dark Hollows* under ground. Nor is't any more ſtrange that *evil Spirits* ſo rarely viſit us, than that *Fiſhes* do not ordinarily fly in the Air, as 'tis ſaid one ſort of

them doth; or that we ſee not the *Batt* daily fluttering in the Beams of the Sun. And now by the help of what I have ſpoken under this Head, I am provided with ſome things wherewith to diſable another Objection, which I thus propoſe.

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## SECT. XII.

### XI.

(XI.) *IF THERE be ſuch an intercourſe between* Evil Spirits *and the* Wicked, *How comes it about that there is no correſpondence between* Good Angels *and the* Vertuous? *ſince without doubt* theſe *are as deſirous to propagate the Spirit and deſigns of the upper and better World, as* thoſe *are to promote the Intereſt of the* Kingdom *of* Darkneſs.

WHICH way of arguing is ſtill from our *Ignorance* of the *State* and *Government* of the other World, which *muſt* be *confeſt*, and may, without prejudice to the *Propoſition* I defend. But particularly, I ſay, (1) That we have ground enough to believe, that *good Spirits* do interpoſe in, yea, and *govern* our Affairs. For that there is a *Providence* reaching from Heaven to Earth, is generally acknowledged; but that *this* ſuppoſeth all things

to

to be ordered by the *immediate influence*, and *interpoſal* of the *Supream Deity*, ſome think, is not very *Philoſophical* to ſuppoſe; ſince, if we judge by the *Analogy* of the *natural World*, all things we ſee are carried on by the *Miniſtery* of *ſecond Cauſes*, and *intermediate Agents*. And it doth not ſeem ſo *magnificent* and *becoming* an apprehenſion of the *Supream Numen*, to fancy his *immediate hand* in every *trivial* Management. But 'tis exceeding likely to conjecture, that much of the *Government* of us, and our Affairs, is committed to the *better Spirits*, with a due *ſubordination* and *ſubſerviency* to the Will of the chief *Rector* of the *Univerſe*. And 'tis not abſurd to believe, that there is a *Government* runs from *higheſt* to *loweſt*, the *better* and *more perfect* Orders of Being ſtill ruling the *inferiour* and *leſs perfect*. So that ſome one would fancy that perhaps the *Angels* may manage *us*, as we do the *Creatures* that God and Nature have placed under our *Empire* and *Dominion*. But however that is, That *God* rules the lower World by the *Miniſtery* of *Angels*, is very conſonant to the *ſacred Oracles*, Thus, *Deut.* XXXII. 8, 9. *When the moſt High divided the Nations their Inheritance, when he ſeparated the ſons of* Adam, *he ſet the bounds of the people,* Κατ' ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων Θεοῦ, *according to the number of the Angels of God,* as the *Septuagint* renders it; the Authority of which Tranſlation, is abundantly

credited and aſſerted, by its being quoted in the New Teſtament, without notice of the *Hebrew* Text; even there where it differs from it, as Learned men have obſerved. We know alſo, that *Angels* were very *familiar* with the *Patriarchs* of old; and *Jacob's Ladder* is a *Myſtery*, which imports their *miniſtring* in the affairs of the Lower World. Thus *Origen* and others underſtand that to be ſpoken by the *Preſidential Angels*, Jerem. LI. 9. *We would have healed* BABYLON, *but ſhe is not healed: forſake her, and let us go.* Like the Voice heard in the *Temple* before the taking of *Jeruſalem* by *Titus*, Μεταβαίνωμεν ἐντεῦθεν. And before *Nebuchadnezzar* was ſent to learn Wiſdom and Religion among the Beaſts, *He* ſees a *Watcher*, according to the 70. an *Angel*, and an *holy One come down from Heaven*, Dan. IV. 13. who pronounceth the ſad *Decree* againſt *Him*, and calls it the *Decree* of the *Watchers*, who very probably were the *Guardian-Genii of Himſelf* and his *Kingdom*. And that there are *particular* Angels that have the ſpecial *Rule* and *Government* of particular *Kingdoms*, *Provinces*, *Cities*, yea and of *Perſons*, I know nothing that can make improbable: The inſtance is notorious in *Daniel*, of the *Angels* of *Perſia* and *Græcia*, that hindred the other that was engaged for the concerns of *Judæa*: yea, our Saviour himſelf tells us, that *Children have their Angels*; and the Congregation of Diſciples

ciples ſuppoſed that St. *Peter* had *his.* Which things, if they be granted, the good Spirits have not ſo little to do with us, and our matters, as is generally believed. And perhaps it would not be abſurd, if we referr'd many of the *ſtrange thwarts,* and *unexpected events,* the *diſappointments* and *lucky co-incidences* that befal us, the *unaccountable fortunes* and *ſucceſſes* that *attend* ſome *lucky* men, and the *unhappy fates* that dog others that ſeem born to be *miſerable*; the *Fame* and *Favour* that ſtill waits on ſome without any conceivable *motive* to allure it, and the *general neglect* of others more *deſerving*, whoſe *worth* is not *acknowledg'd*; I ſay, theſe, and ſuch like *odd* things, may with the greateſt probability be reſolved into the *Conduct* and *Menages* of thoſe *inviſible Superviſors,* that preſide over, and govern our affairs.

*But if they ſo far concern themſelves in our matters, how is it that they appear not to maintain a* viſible *and* confeſt correſpondence *with ſome of the* better Mortals, *who are moſt fitted for their Communications and their influence?* To which I have ſaid ſome *things* already, when I accounted for the *unfrequency* of *Apparitions*; and I now add what I intend for another return to the main Objection, *viz.*

(2) That the *apparition* of *good Spirits* is not needful for the Deſigns of the *better world,* whatever ſuch may be for the intereſt of the

other. For we have had the *Appearance* and *Cohabitation* of the *Son* of *God*; we have *Moses* and the *Prophets*, and the continued *influence* of the *Spirit*, the *greatest arguments* to strengthen *Faith*, the most *powerful motives* to excite our *Love*, and the *noblest encouragements* to quicken and raise our *Desires* and *Hopes*, any of which are more than the *apparition* of an *Angel*; which would indeed be a great *gratification* of the *Animal Life*, but 'twould render our *Faith* less noble and less generous, were it frequently so assisted: *Blessed are they that believe, and yet have not seen.* Besides which, the *good Angels* have no such *ends* to prosecute, as the gaining any Vassals to serve them, they being *ministring Spirits for our good*, and no *self-designers* for a *proud and insolent Dominion* over us. And it may be perhaps not impertinently added, That they are not always *evil Spirits* that *appear*, as is, I know not well upon what grounds, generally imagined; but that the extraordinary *detections* of *Murders*, *latent Treasures*, *falsified* and *unfulfilled Bequests*, which are sometimes made by *Apparitions*, may be the courteous Discoveries of the better and more benign *Genii*. Yea, 'tis not unlikely, that those *warnings* that the world sometimes hath of approaching *Judgements* and *Calamities* by *Prodigies*, and sundry *odd Phænomena*, are the *kind Informations* of some of the Inhabitants of the upper world. Thus, was *Jeru-*

*salem*

*ſalem* forewarned before its ſacking by *Antiochus*, by thoſe *airy Horſemen* that were ſeen through all the City, for almoſt forty days together, 2 *Mac.* V. 2, 3. and the other *Prodigious Portents* that fore-ran its Deſtruction by *Titus*: which I mention, becauſe they are *notorious inſtances*. And though, for mine own part, I ſcorn the *ordinary Tales of Prodigies*, which proceed from *ſuperſtitious fears*, and *unacquaintance* with *Nature*, and have been uſed to bad purpoſes by the *zealous* and the *ignorant*; Yet I think that the Arguments that are brought by a late very ingenious Author, to conclude againſt ſuch Warnings and Predictions in the whole kind, are *ſhort* and *inconſequent*, and built upon too narrow *Hypotheſes*. For if it be ſuppoſed, that there is a ſort of Spirits over us, and about us, who can give a probable gueſs at the more *remarkable futurities*, I know not why it may not be conjectured, that the kindneſs they have for us, and the appetite of foretelling ſtrange things, and the putting the world upon expectation, which we find is very grateful to our own natures, may not incline them alſo to give us ſome general notice of thoſe uncommon Events which they foreſee. And I yet perceive no reaſon we have to fancy, that whatever is done in this kind, muſt needs be either *immediately* from *Heaven*, or from the *Angels*, by *extraordinary Commiſſion* and *Appointment*. But it ſeems to me

me not unreaſonable to believe, that *thoſe officious Spirits* that overſee our Affairs, perceiving ſome *mighty and ſad alterations* at hand, in which their *Charge* is much concerned, cannot chuſe, by reaſon of their *affection* to us, but give us ſome *ſeaſonable hints* of thoſe *approaching Calamities*; to which alſo their natural deſire to *foretel ſtrange things* to come, may contribute to incline them. And by this *Hypotheſis*, the *faireſt probabilities*, and *ſtrongeſt ratiocinations* againſt *Prodigies*, may be made unſerviceable. But this onely by the way.

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## SECT. XIII.

I Deſire it may be conſidered further,

(3) That *God* himſelf affords his *intimacies* and *converſes* to the *better* Souls, that are prepared for *it*; which is a *priviledge* infinitely beyond *Angelical correſpondence.*

I confeſs the *proud* and *phantaſtick pretences* of many of the *conceited Melancholiſts* in *this* age, to *Divine Communion*, have prejudiced divers intelligent perſons againſt the *belief* of any ſuch *happy vouchſafement*; ſo that they conclude the Doctrine of *immediate Communion* with the *Deity* in this *Life* to be but an *high-flown notion* of *warm imagination*, and *overluſcious ſelf-flattery*; and I acknowledge I have my ſelf had thoughts of this nature, ſuppoſing

poſing *Communion* with *God* to be nothing elſe but the *exerciſe* of *vertue*, and *that peace*, and *thoſe Comforts* which naturally reſult from *it*.

But I have conſidered ſince, that *God*'s more *near* and *immediate* imparting himſelf to the Soul that is prepared for that happineſs by *divine Love*, *Humility*, and *Reſignation*, in the way of a *vital touch*, and *ſenſe*, is a thing *poſſible* in it ſelf, and will be a great part of our *Heaven*. That *Glory* is begun in *Grace*, and *God* is pleaſed to give ſome *excellent* Souls the *happy Antepaſt*. That *holy* men in *ancient* times have *ſought* and *gloried* in *this enjoyment*, and never *complain ſo ſorely* as when it was *withheld*, and *interrupted*. That the *expreſſions* of *Scripture* run infinitely *this way*, and the *beſt* of Modern good men, do from their own experience *atteſt it*. That *this ſpiritualizeth Religion*, and renders its *enjoyments* more *comfortable* and *delicious*. That it keeps the Soul under a *vivid ſenſe* of *God*, and is a *grand ſecurity* againſt *Temptation*. That it holds it ſteady amid the *flatteries* of a *proſperous* ſtate, and gives it the moſt *grounded anchorage* and *ſupport* amid the *Waves* of an *adverſe condition*. That 'tis the nobleſt *encouragement* to *vertue*, and the *biggeſt* aſſurance of an *happy* Immortality. I ſay, I conſidered theſe *weighty* things, and wondred at the *careleſneſs* and *prejudice* of thoughts that occaſion'd my ſuſpecting the *reality*

*reality* of so glorious a Priviledge; I saw how little reason there is in denying matters of *inward sense*, because our selves do not *feel* them, or cannot form an apprehension of them in our minds. I am convinced that things of *gust* and *relish* must be judg'd by the *sentient* and *vital faculties*, and not by the *noetical exercises* of *speculative* understandings: And upon the whole, I believe infinitely that the *Divine Spirit* affords its *sensible presence*, and *immediate beatifick Touch* to some rare Souls, who are divested of *carnal* self, and *mundane pleasures*, *abstracted* from the *Body* by *Prayer* and *holy Meditation*; *spiritual* in their *Desires*, and *calm* in their *Affections*; *devout* Lovers of *God*, and *vertue*, and *tenderly affectionate* to all the world; *sincere* in their *aims*, and *circumspect* in their *actions*; *inlarged* in their Souls, and *clear* in their Minds: These I think are the *dispositions* that are requisite to fit us for *Divine Communion*; and *God* transacts not in this *near* way, but with *prepared spirits* who are thus disposed for the *manifestation* of his *presence*, and his *influence*: And such, I believe, he never fails to bless with these *happy foretastes* of *Glory*.

But for those that are *passionate* and *conceited*, *turbulent* and *notional*, *confident* and *immodest*, *imperious* and *malicious*; That *doat* upon *trifles*, and *run fiercely* in the *ways* of a *Sect*, that are *lifted* up in the apprehension of the *glorious*

*prerogatives*

*prerogatives* of *themſelves* and their *party*, and ſcorn all the world beſides; For ſuch, I ſay, *be their pretenſions what they will*, to *divine Communion*, *Illapſes*, and *Diſcoveries*, I believe them not; Their *fancies abuſe* them, or *they would* us. For what *communion* hath *Light* with *Darkneſs*, or the *Spirit* of the *HOLY ONE* with *thoſe* whoſe *genius* and *ways* are ſo unlike him? But the other *excellent* Souls I deſcribed, will as certainly be viſited by the *Divine Preſence*, and *Converſe*, as the *Cryſtalline ſtreams* are, with the *beams* of *Light*, or the fitly prepar'd *Earth* whoſe *Seed* is in it ſelf, will be actuated by the *ſpirit* of *Nature*.

So that there is no reaſon to object here the want of *Angelical Communications*, though there were none vouchſafed us, ſince *good men* enjoy the *Divine*, which are infinitely more *ſatisfactory* and *indearing*.

And now I may have leave to proceed to the next *Objection*, which may be made to ſpeak thus:

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## SECT. XIV.

### XII.

(XII.) THE *belief of* Witches, *and the wonderful things they are ſaid to perform by the help of the* Confederate Dæmon, *weakens*

*weakens our* Faith, *and expoſeth the World to* Infidelity *in the great matters of our Religion. For if they by Diabolical aſſiſtance, can* inflict *and* cure *Diſeaſes, and do things ſo much beyond the* comprehenſion *of our* Philoſophy, *and* activity *of common Nature; What aſſurance can we have, that the* Miracles *that confirm our Goſpel were not the effects of a* Compact *of like nature, and that* Devils *were not caſt out by* Beelzebub? *If* evil Spirits *can* aſſume *Bodies, and render themſelves* viſible in humane likeneſs; *What ſecurity can we have of the reality of the* Reſurrection *of* Chriſt? *And if, by their help,* Witches *can enter Chambers* inviſibly *through* Key-holes *and little* unperceived Crannies, *and* transform *themſelves at pleaſure; What Arguments of* Divinity *are there in our* Saviour's *ſhewing himſelf in the midſt of his* Diſciples, *when the Doors were* ſhut, *and his* Transfiguration *in the Mount*? Miracles *are the great inducements of Belief, and how ſhall we diſtinguiſh a* Miracle *from a* lying Wonder; *a* Teſtimony *from* Heaven, *from a* Trick *of the* Angels *of* Hell; *if they can perform things that aſtoniſh and confound our Reaſons, and are beyond all the* Poſſibilities *of Human Nature?* This *Objection* is ſpiteful and miſchievous; but I thus endeavour to diſpatch it.

(1) THE Wonders done by *Confederacy* with *wicked Spirits,* cannot derive a ſuſpi-

ſuſpicion upon the undoubted *Miracles* that were wrought by the Author and Promulgers of our Religion, as if *they* were performed by *Diabolical Compact*, ſince their *Spirit*, *Endeavours*, and *Deſigns*, were notoriouſly contrary to all the *Tendencies*, *Aims*, and *Intereſts* of the *Kingdom* of *Darkneſs*. For, as to the Life and Temper of the bleſſed and adorable *JESUS*, we know there was an incomparable *ſweetneſs* in his *Nature*, *Humility* in his *Manners*, *Calmneſs* in his *Temper*, *Compaſſion* in his *Miracles*, *Modeſty* in his *Expreſſions*, *Holineſs* in all his *Actions*, *Hatred* of *Vice* and *Baſeneſs*, and *Love* to all the World; all which are *eſſentially contrary* to the Nature and Conſtitution of *Apoſtate Spirits*, who abound in *Pride* and *Rancour*, *Inſolence* and *Rudeneſs*, *Tyranny* and *Baſeneſs*, univerſal *Malice*, and *Hatred* of *Men*. And their *Deſigns* are as oppoſite, as their *Spirit* and their *Genius*. And now, Can the *Sun* borrow its Light from the *bottomleſs Abyſs*? Can *Heat* and *Warmth* flow in upon the World from the Regions of *Snow* and *Ice*? Can *Fire freeze*, and *Water burn*? Can Natures, ſo infinitely contrary, *communicate*, and jump in *projects* that are *deſtructive* to each others *known Intereſts*? Is there any Balſom in the *Cockatrices Egg*? or, Can the *Spirit* of *Life* flow from the *Venome* of the *Aſp*? Will the *Prince* of *Darkneſs* ſtrengthen the *Arm* that is *ſtretcht* out to pluck his *Uſurpt Scepter*, and his *Spoils* from him? And will he lend

lend his *Legions*, to aſſiſt the *Armies* of his *Enemy* againſt him? No, theſe are impoſſible Suppoſals; No intelligent Being will induſtriouſly and knowingly contribute to the *Contradiction* of its own *Principles*, the *Defeature* of its *Purpoſes*, and the *Ruine* of its own deareſt *Intereſts*. There is no fear then, that our Faith ſhould receive prejudice from the *acknowledgement* of the *Being* of *Witches*, and *power* of *evil Spirits*, ſince 'tis not the *doing wonderful things* that is the onely *Evidence* that the *Holy JESUS* was from God, and his *Doctrine true*; but the *conjunction* of other circumſtances, the *holineſs* of his *Life*, the *reaſonableneſs* of his *Religion*, and the *excellency* of his *Deſigns*, added credit to his Works, and ſtrengthned the *great Concluſion*, *That he could be no other than the Son of God*, *and Saviour of the world*. But beſides, I ſay,

(2) That ſince *infinite Wiſdom* and *Goodneſs* rules the World, it cannot be conceived, that they ſhould give up the greateſt part of men to *unavoidable deception*. And if *evil Angels* by their *Confederates* are permitted to perform ſuch *aſtoniſhing* things, as ſeem ſo evidently to carry *God's Seal* and *Power* with them, for the confirmation of *Falſhoods*, and gaining credit to *Impoſtors*, without any *counter-evidence* to diſabuſe the World; Mankind is expoſed to *ſad* and *fatal deluſion*. And to ſay that *Providence* will ſuffer us to be deceived in things of the

the greateſt concernment, when we uſe the beſt of our care and endeavours to prevent it, is to ſpeak hard things of *God*; and in effect to affirm, That He hath nothing to do in the Government of the World, or doth not concern himſelf in the affairs of poor forlorn men. And if the *Providence* and *Goodneſs* of God be not a ſecurity unto us againſt ſuch *Deceptions*, we cannot be aſſured, but that we are always abuſed by thoſe *miſchievous Agents*, in the *Objects* of *plain ſenſe*, and in all the matters of our daily Converſes. If *ONE* that pretends he is *immediately* ſent from *God*, to overthrow the ancient *Fabrick* of Eſtabliſhed *Worſhip*, and to erect a *New Religion* in *His* Name, ſhall be *born* of a *Virgin*, and honour'd by a *miraculous Star*; proclaimed by a *Song* of ſeeming *Angels* of *Light*, and *worſhipped* by the *wiſe Sages* of the World; Revered by thoſe of the greateſt *auſterity*, and *admired* by all for a *miraculous Wiſdom*, beyond his *Education* and his *Years*: If He ſhall feed *multitudes* with almoſt *nothing*, and *faſt himſelf* beyond all the *poſſibilities* of Nature: If He ſhall be *transformed* into the appearance of *extraordinary Glory*, and converſe with departed *Prophets* in their *viſible Forms*: If He ſhall Cure all Diſeaſes without *Phyſick* or *Endeavour*, and raiſe the *Dead* to *Life* after they have *ſtunk* in their *Graves*: If He ſhall be honoured by *Voices* from *Heaven*, and attract the univerſal *wonder*

of Princes and People: If He ſhall allay *Tempeſts* with a *beck*, and caſt out *Devils* with a *word*: If He ſhall foretel his own Death particularly, with its *Tragical Circumſtances*, and his *Reſurrection* after it: If the *Veil* of the moſt famous *Temple* in the world ſhall be *rent*, and the *Sun darkned* at his *Funeral*: If He ſhall, within the time foretold, break the bonds of Death, and lift up his Head out of the Grave: If *Multitudes* of other *departed Souls* ſhall *ariſe* with *Him*, to attend at the *Solemnity* of his *Reſurrection*: If He ſhall after Death, *viſibly converſe*, and eat and drink with divers perſons, who could not be deceived in a matter of *clear ſenſe*, and *aſcend* in Glory in the preſence of an aſtoniſht and admiring Multitude: I ſay, if ſuch a one as this ſhould prove a *diabolical Impoſtor*, and Providence ſhould permit him to be ſo credited and acknowledged; What poſſibility were there then for us to be aſſured, that we are not always *deceived?* yea, that our very faculties were not given us onely to delude and abuſe us? And if ſo, the next Concluſion is, *That there is no God that judgeth in the earth*; and the beſt, and moſt likely *Hypotheſis* will be, *That the world is given up to the Government of the Devil.* But if there be a *Providence* that ſuperviſeth us, (as nothing is more certain) doubtleſs it will never ſuffer poor helpleſs Creatures to be *inevitably deceived* by the *craft* and *ſubtilty* of their *miſchievous Enemy*,

*Enemy*, to their undoing; but will without queſtion take ſuch care, that the *works* wrought by *Divine Power* for the Confirmation of *Divine Truth*, ſhall have ſuch *viſible Marks* and *Signatures*, if not in their *Nature*, yet in their *Circumſtances*, *Ends*, and *Deſigns*, as ſhall diſcover *whence they are*, and ſufficiently *diſtinguiſh* them from all *Impoſtures* and *Deluſions*. And though wicked ſpirits may perform ſome ſtrange things that may excite wonder for a while, yet *He hath*, and *will* ſo provide, that they ſhall be *baffled* and *diſcredited*; as we know it was in the caſe of *Moſes* and the *Ægyptian Magicians*.

*Theſe* things I count ſufficient to be ſaid to this *laſt*, and *ſhrewdeſt Objection*; Though *ſome*, I underſtand, *except*, that I have made it *ſtronger* than the *Anſwer* I have applied. That I have urged the *argument* of *unbelievers home*, and repreſented it in its *full ſtrength*, I ſuppoſe can be no matter of juſt *reproof*: For to triumph over the *weakneſs* of a *Cauſe*, and to overlook its *ſtrength*, is the trick of *ſhallow* and *intereſſed Diſputers*, and the worſt way to *defend* a *good Cauſe*, or confute a *bad* one. I have therefore all along urged the moſt *cogent* things I could think of, for the intereſt of the *Objectors*, becauſe I would not *impoſe* upon my *Reader* or *my ſelf*; and the *ſtronger* I make their *premiſes*, the *more* ſhall I *weaken their Concluſion*, if I *anſwer* them; which whether I have *done*, or *not*, I refer my ſelf to the judgments of

the *ingenious* and *conſiderate*; from whom I ſhould be very glad to be informed in what particular points my Diſcourſe is defective. *General Charges* are no *proofs*, nor are they eaſily *capable* of an anſwer. Yet, to the *mention'd exception* I ſay

That the *ſtrength* of the *Objection* is not my *fault*, for the *reaſons* alledg'd; and for the *ſuppoſed incompetency* of my *return*, I propoſe, that if the *circumſtances* of the *Perſons*, *Ends*, and *Iſſues* be the *beſt Notes* of *Diſtinction* between *true Miracles* and *Forgeries*, *Divine* and *Diabolical ones*, I have then ſaid *enough* to ſecure the *Miracles* of our *Saviour*, and the *Holy* men of Ancient times. But if *theſe Objectors* think, they can give us any *better*, or more *infallible Criteria*, I deſire them to weigh what I have offer'd about *Miracles* in ſome of the following Leaves, before they enter *that thought* among their *certainties*. And if their other *marks* of *difference* will hold, notwithſtanding thoſe *allegations*, I ſuppoſe the *inquiſitive believing* world would be glad to *know* them; and I ſhall have *particular obligations* to the *diſcoverer*, for the *ſtrength* with which he will thereby aſſiſt my *Anſwer*.

But till I ſee *that*, I can ſay nothing *ſtronger*; or if I ſaw it, which I ſhall not in haſte expect, I ſhould not be convinced but that the *circumſtances* of *difference* which I have noted, are abundantly *ſufficient* to *diſarm* the *Objection*;

and

and to ſhew, that though *Apparitions*, *Witchcraft*, and *daibolical Wonders* are admitted: yet none of theſe can faſten any *ſlurre*, or ground of *dangerous doubt* upon the *miraculous* performances of the *H. JESUS* and his *Apoſtles*. If the *diſſatisfied* can ſhew it, I ſhall yield my ſelf an humble *proſelyte* to their *Reaſons*; but till I know them, the *general* ſuggeſtion will not convince me.

Now, beſides what I have directly ſaid to the main *Objection*, I have this to add to the *Objectors*, That I could wiſh they would take care of ſuch *Suggeſtions*; which, if they overthrow not the Opinion they oppoſe, will dangerouſly affront the Religion they would ſeem to acknowledge. For he that ſaith, *That if there are* WITCHES, *there is no way to prove that* Chriſt Jeſus *was not a Magician, and diabolical Impoſtor*, puts a *deadly* Weapon into the *hands* of the *Infidel*, and is himſelf next door to the *SIN AGAINST THE HOLY GHOST*: of which, in order to the *perſwading* greater *tenderneſs* and *caution* in ſuch matters, I give this ſhort account.

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## SECT. XV.

THE *Sin* againſt the *Holy Ghoſt* is ſaid to be *Unpardonable*; by which *ſad* Attribute, and the diſcourſe of our *Saviour*,

*Matth.* XII. from the 22. to the 33. *verſe*, we may underſtand its Nature. In order to which we conſider, That ſince the *Mercies* of *God*, and the *Merits* of his *Son*, are *infinite*, there is nothing can make a Sin *unpardonable*, but what makes it *incurable*; and there is no Sin but what is curable by a *ſtrong Faith*, and a *vigorous Endeavour*: *For all things are poſſible to him that believeth.* So that, *That* which makes a Sin *incurable*, muſt be ſomewhat that makes *Faith impoſſible*, and obſtructs all means of Conviction. In order to the finding which, we muſt conſider the ways and methods the Divine Goodneſs hath taken, for the begetting *Faith*, and cure of *Infidelity*: which it attempted, firſt, by the Prophets, and holy men of ancient times, who, by the *excellency* of their *Doctrine*, the *greatneſs* of their *Miracles*, and the *holineſs* of their *Lives*, endeavoured the conviction and reformation of a ſtubborn and unbelieving World. But though *Few believed their Report*, and men would not be prevail'd on by what they did, or what they ſaid; yet their *Infidelity* was not hitherto *incurable*, becauſe further *means* were provided in the *miniſtry* of *John* the *Baptiſt*, whoſe Life was more *ſevere*, whoſe Doctrines were more plain, preſſing, and particular; and therefore 'twas poſſible that He might have ſucceeded. Yea, and where He failed, and could not open mens hearts and their eyes, the effect was ſtill in *poſ-*

*ſibility*,

*ſibility*, and it might be expected from *Him* that came after, to whom the *Prophets* and *John* were but the *Twilight* and the *Dawn*. And though *His miraculous Birth*, the *Song of Angels*, the *Journey* of the *Wiſe Men* of the *Eaſt*, and the *correſpondence* of *Prophecies*, with the *Circumſtances* of the *firſt appearance* of the *wonderful Infant*: I ſay, though theſe had not been taken notice of, yet was there a further proviſion made for the *cure of Infidelity*, in his *aſtoniſhing Wiſdom*, and moſt *excellent Doctrines*; For, *He ſpake as never man did*. And when *Theſe* were deſpiſed and neglected, yet there were other means towards *Conviction*, and *cure of Unbelief*, in thoſe mighty *works* that bore Teſtimony of *Him*, and wore the evident marks of *Divine Power* in their Foreheads. But when after all, Theſe *clear* and *unqueſtionable Miracles* which were wrought by the *Spirit of God*, and had eminently his *Superſcription* on them, ſhall be aſcribed to the *Agency of evil Spirits*, and *Diabolical Compact*, as they were by the *malicious* and *ſpightful Phariſees* in the *periods* above-mentioned; when thoſe *great* and *laſt Teſtimonies* againſt *Infidelity*, ſhall be ſaid to be but the *tricks* of *Sorcery*, and *Complotment* with *Helliſh Confederates*, This is *Blaſphemy* in the higheſt, againſt the *Power* and *Spirit of God*, and *ſuch* as *cuts off all means of Conviction*, and puts the Unbeliever beyond all *poſſibilities of Cure*. For *Miracles* are God's *Seal*, and the

great and last evidence of the truth of any Doctrine. And though, while these are onely disbelieved as to the *Fact*, there remains a *possibility* of *perswasion*; yet, when the *Fact* shall be acknowledg'd, but the Power *blasphemed*, and the effects of the adorable *Spirit maliciously* imputed to the *Devils*; such a *Blasphemy*, such an *Infidelity* is *incurable*, and consequently *unpardonable*. I say, in sum, the Sin against the Holy Ghost seems to be a *malicious imputation* of the *Miracles* wrought by the *Spirit* of God in our Saviour, to *Satanical Confederacy*, and the power of *Apostate Spirits*; Than which nothing is more *blasphemous*, and nothing is more like to provoke the *Holy Spirit* that is so abused, to an *Eternal Derelict*ion of so *vile* and so *incurable* an Unbeliever.

This account, as 'tis clear and reasonable in it self, so it is plainly lodg'd in the mention'd Discourse of our Saviour. And most of those that speak other things about it, seem to me to talk at random, and perfectly without Book. But to leave them to the fondness of their own conceits, I think it now time to draw up to a Conclusion of the whole.

## SECT. XVI.

THEREFORE briefly, Sir, I have endeavoured in these Papers, which my respect

ſpect and your concernment in the ſubject have made *yours*, to remove the main prejudices I could think of, againſt the exiſtence of *Witches* and *Apparitions*: And I'm ſure I have ſuggeſted much more againſt what I defend, than ever I heard or ſaw in any that oppoſed it; whoſe Diſcourſes, for the moſt part, have ſeemed to me inſpired by a *lofty ſcorn of common belief*, and ſome *trivial Notions of Vulgar Philoſophy*. And in deſpiſing the *common Faith* about matters of *fact*, and fondly adhering to *it* in things of *Speculation*, they very groſly and abſurdly miſtake: For in things of *Fact*, the *People* are as much to be believed, as the moſt *ſubtile Philoſophers* and *Speculators*; ſince here, *Senſe* is the Judge. But in matters of *Notions* and *Theory*, *they* are not at all to be heeded, becauſe *Reaſon* is to be Judge of *theſe*, and *this* they know not how to uſe. And yet thus it is with thoſe *wiſe* Philoſophers, that will deny the *plain* evidence of the *Senſes* of Mankind, becauſe they cannot reconcile *appearances* with the fond Crotchets of a Philoſophy, which they lighted on in the *High-way* by *chance*, and will adhere to at *adventure*. So that I profeſs, for mine own part, I never yet heard any of the confident Declaimers againſt *Witchcraft* and *Apparitions*, ſpeak any thing that might move a mind, in any degree inſtructed in the generous kinds of *Philoſophy* and *Nature* of *things*. And for the *Objections* I have recited

cited, they are moſt of them ſuch as roſe out of mine own thoughts, which I obliged to conſider what was poſſible to be ſaid upon this *occaſion*.

For though I have examined *SCOT*'s *DISCOVERY*, fancying that there I ſhould find the *ſtrong reaſons* of mens *disbelief* in this matter; yet I profeſs I met not with the leaſt ſuggeſtion in all that *Farrago*, but what it had been ridiculous for me to have gone about to *anſwer*: For the Author doth *little* but tell *odd Tales*, and *ſilly Legends*, which he confutes and laughs at, and pretends this to be a *Confutation* of the Being of *Witches* and *Apparitions*. In all which, His *Reaſonings* are *trifling* and *Childiſh*; and when He ventures at *Philoſophy*, He is little better than *abſurd*: So that 'twill be a wonder to me, if any but *Boyes* and *Buffoons* imbibe any *prejudices* againſt a Belief ſo infinitely confirmed, from the *Looſe* and *Impotent Suggeſtions* of ſo weak a Diſcourſer.

But however, obſerving two things in that *Diſcourſe* that would pretend to be more than ordinary *Reaſons*, I ſhall do them the civility to examine them. It is ſaid then,

(1) THat the *Goſpel is ſilent*, as to the *Being* of *WITCHES*; and 'tis not likely, if there were *ſuch*, but that our *Saviour* or his *Apoſtles* had given intimations of their exiſtence. The other is, (2)

(2) *Miracles are ceaſed*, and therefore the *prodigious* things aſcribed to **Witchcraft** are ſuppoſed *Dreams* and *Impoſtures.*

FOR ANSWER to the FIRST in order, I conſider (1) That though the *Hiſtory* of the *New Teſtament* were granted to be ſilent in the buſineſs of *Witches* and *Compacts*, yet the *Records* of the *Old* have a frequent mention of them. The *Law*, Exod. XXII. 18. againſt permitting *them to live* (which I mention'd in the beginning) is *famous*. And we have another remarkable *Prohibition of them*, Deut. XVIII. 10, 11. *There ſhall not be found among you any one that maketh his Son or his Daughter paſs through the Fire, or that uſeth Divination, or an Obſerver of Times, or an Enchanter, or a WITCH, or a Charmer, or a Conſulter with Familiar Spirits, or a Wizzard, or a Necromancer.* Now this accumulation of Names, (ſome of which are of the ſame ſence and import) is a plain indication that the *HEBREW WITCH* was one that practiſed by *compact with evil Spirits.* And many of the ſame expreſſions are put together in the Charge againſt *Manaſſes*, II *Chron.* XXXIII. *viz.* That he *cauſed his Children to paſs through the Fire, obſerved Times, uſed Enchantments*, and **Witchcraft**, and dealt with *Familiar Spirits*, and with

with *WIZZARDS*. So that though the *Original* word which we render *WITCH* and *WITCHCRAFT*, ſhould, as our Sadducees urge, ſignifie onely a *CHEAT* and a *POYSONER*; yet thoſe others mention'd, plainly enough ſpeak the thing; and I have given an account in the former *Conſiderations*, how a *WITCH* in the common notion is a *Poyſoner*. But why mere *poyſoning* ſhould have a diſtinct *Law* againſt it, and not be concluded under the general one againſt *Murder*; why mere *Legerdemain* and *Cheating* ſhould be ſo ſeverely animadverted on, as to be reckon'd with *Enchantments*, *converſe* with *Devils*, and *Idolatrous practices*: I believe the *denier of WITCHES* will find it hard to give a reaſon. To which I may add ſome other paſſages of Scripture that yield ſufficient evidence in the caſe. The Nations are forbid to hearken to the *Diviners*, *Dreamers*, *Enchanters*, and *Sorcerers*, Jer. XXVII. 9. the *Chaldæans* are deeply threatned for their *Sorceries* and *Enchantments*, Iſa. XLVII. 9. And we read that *Nebuchadnezzar* called the *Magicians*, *Aſtrologers*, *Sorcerers*, and *Chaldæans*, to tell his *Dream*. My mention of which laſt, minds me to ſay, that for ought I have to the contrary, there may be a ſort of **Witches** and **Magicians** that have no *Familiars*, that they *know*, nor any *expreſs compact with Apoſtate Spirits*; who yet may perhaps act *ſtrange* things

things by *diabolick Aids*, which they procure by the uſe of thoſe *Forms*, and wicked *Arts* that the *Devil* did firſt impart to his *Confederates*: And we know not but the *Laws* of that *dark Kingdom* may enjoyn a particular attendance upon all thoſe that practiſe their *Myſteries*, whether they *know* them to be *theirs*, or not. For a great intereſt of their *Empire* may be ſerved by this project, ſince thoſe that find ſuch ſucceſs in the *unknown Conjurations*, may by that be toll'd on to more *expreſs tranſactions* with thoſe *Fiends*, that have aſſiſted them *incognito*: Or, if they proceed not ſo far, yet they run upon a *Rock* by acting in the *dark*, and dealing in *unknown* and *unwarranted Arts*, in which the *effect* is much beyond the *proper efficiency* of the things they uſe, and affords ground of more than ſupicion that ſome *evil Spirit* is the *Agent* in thoſe wondrous performances.

Upon this account I ſay, it is not to me unlikely but that the *Devils* may by their own *Conſtitution* be *bound* to attend upon all that uſe their *Ceremonies* and *Forms*, though *ignorantly*, and without *deſign* of evil; and ſo Conjuration may have been performed by thoſe who are none of the *Covenant*-Sorcerers and Witches. Among *thoſe* perhaps we may juſtly reckon *Balaam*, and the *Diviners*. For *Balaam*, *Moncæus* hath undertaken to clear him from the *guilt* of the *greater Sorcery*. And the *Diviners* are uſually

uſually *diſtinctly* mentioned from thoſe that had *Familiar Spirits*. The *Aſtrologers* alſo of *Elder* times, and thoſe of *ours*, I take to have been of this ſort of *Magicians*, and *ſome* of them under the colour of that *myſtical* Science, *worſe*. And I queſtion not, but that things are really done, and foretold by thoſe *pretended Artiſts*, that are much beyond the *regular poſſibilities* of their *Art*; which in this appears to be exceedingly *uncertain* and *precarious*, in that there are no leſs than *ſix* ways of *erecting* a *Scheme*, in each of which the *prediction* of *Events* ſhall be *different*, and yet every one of them be juſtifiable by the *Rules* of that *Science*. And the *Principles* they go upon, are found to be very *arbitrary* and *unphiloſophical*, not by the *ordinary Declaimers* againſt it, but by the moſt *profound inquirers* into things, who perfectly *underſtand* the whole *Myſtery*, and are the onely *competent Judges*.

Now thoſe *Myſtical Students* may in their firſt addreſſes to this *Science*, have no other deſign, but the ſatisfaction of their *curioſity* to know *remote* and *hidden things*; yet *that* in the progreſs being not ſatisfied within the bounds of their *Art*, doth many times *tempt* the *curious* Inquirer to uſe *worſe* means of *Information*; and no doubt thoſe *miſchievous* Spirits that are as vigilant as the *Beaſts of Prey*, and watch all occaſions to get us within their *envious reach*, are more conſtant *Attenders*, and

and careful *Spyes* upon the Actions and Inclinations of ſuch, whoſe *genius* and *deſigns* prepare them for their *Temptations.* So that I look on **Judicial Aſtrology** as a fair Introduction to *Sorcery* and *Witchcraft.* And who knows but that it was firſt ſet on foot by the *Infernal Hunters,* as a Lure to draw the *Curioſo's* into thoſe ſnares that lie hid beyond it. And yet I believe alſo, it may be *innocently* enough ſtudied by thoſe, that aim onely to underſtand *what it is,* and *how far it will honeſtly go*; and are not willing to condemn any thing which they do not comprehend. But that they muſt take care to keep themſelves within the bounds of ſober enquiry, and not indulge *irregular ſolicitudes* about the Knowledge of things which *Providence* hath thought fit to *conceal* from us; Which whoever doth, lays himſelf open to the deſigns and ſolicitations of *evil Spirits*; and I believe there are very few among thoſe who have been addicted to thoſe *ſtrange Arts of wonder*, and *prædiction,* but have found themſelves attacqued by ſome *unknown Solicitors*, and inticed by them to the more dangerous *Actions* and *Correſpondencies.* For as there are a ſort of *baſe* and *ſordid Spirits* that *attend* the *envy* and *malice* of the *ignorant*, and *viler* ſort of perſons, and betray them into *Compacts* by *promiſes of Revenge*: So, no doubt, there are a kind of more *airy,* and *ſpeculative Fiends*, of an *higher Rank* and Order

Order than thoſe *wretched Imps*, who apply themſelves to the *Curious*; and many times prevail with them by offers of the more *recondite knowledge*. As we know it was in the *firſt Temptation*. Yea, and ſometimes they are ſo *cautious*, and *wary* in their Converſations with more *refined* perſons, that they never offer to make any *expreſs Covenants* with them. And to this purpoſe I have been informed by a very Learned and Reverend Doctor, that one Mr. *Edwards* a Maſter of Arts of *Trin.* Coll. in *Cambridge* being reclaimed from *Conjuration*, declared in his *Repentance*, That the *Dæmon* always appeared to him like a man of good Faſhion, and never required any *Compact* from him. And no doubt, they ſort themſelves agreeably to the *ſtate*, *port*, and *genius* of thoſe with whom they *converſe*: Yea, 'tis like, as I conjectured, are *aſſiſtant* ſometimes to thoſe, to whom they dare not ſhew themſelves in any *openneſs* of *appearance*, leſt they ſhould *fright* them from thoſe ways of *Sin* and *Temptation*. So that we ſee, that Men may act by *evil Spirits* without their own knowledge that they do ſo.

And poſſibly *Nebuchadnezzar's Wiſemen* might be of this ſort of *Magicians*; which ſuppoſal I mention the rather, becauſe it may ſerve me againſt ſome things that may be objected: For, it may be ſaid, If *They* had been in *Confederacy* with *Devils*, it is not probable, that

*Daniel*

*Daniel* would have been their *Advocate*, or in ſuch *inoffenſive terms* have diſtinguiſht their *skill*, from *Divine Revelation*; nor ſhould *he*, one would think, have accepted the Office of being *Provoſt* over *them*. Theſe Circumſtances may be ſuppoſed to intimate a probability, that the *Magi* of *Babylon* were in no *profeſt Diabolical Complotment*, and I grant it. But yet they *might*, and in all likelihood *did*, uſe the *Arts* and *Methods* of *Action*, which obtain *Demonaick Co-operation* and *Aſſiſtance*, though without their *privity*, and ſo they were a leſs criminal ſort of *Conjurers*; For thoſe *Arts* were conveyed down along to *them* from one hand to another, and the Succeſſours ſtill took them up from thoſe that preceded without a *Philoſophical Scrutiny*, or *Examen*. They ſaw ſtrange things were *done*, and Events predicted by ſuch *forms*, and ſuch *words*; *How*, they could not tell, nor 'tis like, did not *inquire*; but contented themſelves with this *general* account, That 'twas by the *power* of their *Arts*, and were not *ſollicitous* for any *better* reaſon. This I ſay was probably the caſe of moſt of *thoſe Predictors*, though, it may be, others of them advanced further into the more deſperate part of the *Myſtery*. And that *ſome* did immediately *tranſact* with *appearing* evil Spirits in thoſe times, is apparent enough from expreſs mention in the *Scriptures* I have alledg'd.

And the *ſtory* of the *WITCH* of *EN-*

*DOR*, 1 Sam. XXVIII. is a remarkable *demonſtration* of the main Concluſion; which will appear when we have conſidered and removed the *fancy*, and *gloſſes* of our *Author* about it, in his *DISCOVERY*: where to avoid this evidence, he affirms, *This WITCH* to be but a *Cozener*, and the whole *Tranſaction* a *Cheat* and *Impoſture*, managed by her *ſelf* and a *Confederate*. And in order to the perſwading *this*, he tells a fine *Tale*, viz. That ſhe departed from *Saul* into her *Cloſet*, "Where doubt-"leſs, ſays he, ſhe had a *Familiar*, ſome *lewd* "*crafty Prieſt*, and made *Saul* ſtand at the *door* "like a *Fool*, to hear the *cozening* Anſwers. He "ſaith, ſhe there uſed the ordinary words of "*Conjuration*; and after them, *Samuel appears*, "whom he affirms to be no other than either "the *Witch* her ſelf, or her *Confederate*. By this *pretty knack* and *contrivance* he thinks he hath diſabled the *Relation* from ſignifying to our purpoſe:

But the *DISCOVERER* might have conſidered, that all this is an *Invention*, and *without Book*. For there is no mention of the *Witches Cloſet*, or her *retiring* into another Room, or her *Confederate*, or her *form* of *Conjuration*: I ſay, nothing of all this, is as much as intimated in the *Hiſtory*; and if we may take this *large liberty* in the *interpretation* of *Scripture*, there is ſcarce a *ſtory* in the *Bible* but may be made a *Fallacy*, and *Impoſture*, or any thing

thing that we pleaſe. Nor is this fancy of his onely *arbitrary*, but indeed contrary to the *circumſtances* of the *Text*. For it ſays, *Saul perceived it was Samuel*, and *bowed himſelf*, and *this* Samuel *truly* foretold his approaching *Fate*, viz. That *Iſrael* ſhould be delivered with *him* into the hands of the *Philiſtines*; and that on the morrow *He* and his *Sons* ſhould be in the *ſtate* of the *Dead*, which doubtleſs is meant by the expreſſion, that [ *they ſhould be with him.* ] Which *contingent* particulars, how could the *Cozener* and her *Confederate* foretel, if there were nothing in it *extraordinary* and *preternatural*?

It hath indeed been a great diſpute among *Interpreters*, whether the real *Samuel* was *raiſed*, or the *Devil* in his likeneſs? Moſt later Writers ſuppoſe it to have been an *evil Spirit*, upon the ſuppoſition that *good* and *happy* Souls can never return hither from their *Cœleſtial* abodes; and they are not certainly at the beck and call of an impious Hagg. But then thoſe of the other ſide urge, that the *Piety* of the words that were ſpoke, and the *ſeaſonable reproof* given to *deſpairing* Saul, are *indications* ſufficient that they come not from Hell; and eſpecially they think the *Prophecie of Circumſtances* very *accidental* to be an argument, that it was not utter'd by any of the *infernal Predictors*. And for the *ſuppoſal* that is the ground of *that interpretation*, 'tis judged exceedingly

*precarious*; for *who ſaith* that *happy* departed *Souls* were never employed in any *miniſteries* here below? And thoſe diſſenters are ready to ask a reaſon, why they may not be ſent in Meſſages to *Earth*, as well as *thoſe* of the *Angelical* Order? They are nearer *allied* to our *Natures*, and upon that account more *intimately concerned* in our affairs; and the example of *returning Lazarus* is evidence of the thing *de facto*. Beſides which, that it was the real *Samuel* they think made probable by the opinion of *Jeſus* the ſon of *Syrac*, Eccluſ. XLVI. 19, 20. who ſaith of him, That *after his death he prophesied and ſhewed the King his end*: which alſo is *likely* from the circumſtance of the womans *aſtoniſhment*, and *crying* out when ſhe ſaw him, intimating her *ſurprize*, in that the power of God had over-ruled her *Enchantments*, and ſent another than ſhe expected. And they conceive there is no more incongruity in ſuppoſing God ſhould ſend *Samuel* to rebuke *Saul* for this his laſt folly, and to predict his inſtant ruine, than in his interpoſing *Elias* to the Meſſengers of *Ahazias* when he ſent to *Beelzebub*. Now if it were the real *Samuel*, as the *Letter* expreſſeth, (and the obvious ſence is to be followed when there is no cogent reaſon to decline it) he was not *raiſed* by the *power* of the *Witches Enchantments*, but came on that occaſion in a *Divine Errand*. But yet *attempts* and *endeavours* to raiſe her *Familiar Spirit*, (though

(though at that time over-ruled) are Arguments that it had been her cuſtom to do ſo. Or if it were as the other ſide concludes, the *Devil* in the ſhape of *Samuel*, her *diabolical Confederacy* is yet more *palpable*.

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## SECT. XVIII.

I HAVE now done with *SCOT*, and his *preſumptions*; and am apt to fancy, that there is nothing more needful to be ſaid to *diſcover* the *Diſcoverer*. But there is an *Author* infinitely more valuable, that calls me to conſider him, 'Tis the great *Epiſcopius*, who, though he grants a ſort of *Witches* and *Magicians*, yet denies *Compacts*. His *Authority*, I confeſs, is *conſiderable*, but let us weigh his *Reaſons*.

His *Firſt* is, That there is no *example* of any of the *prophane Nations* that were in ſuch *Compact*; whence he would *infer*, that there are no *expreſs Covenants* with *evil Spirits* in *particular* inſtances. But I think that both *propoſition* and *conſequence*, are very *obnoxious* and *defective*. For that there *were Nations* that did actually *worſhip* the *Devil* is plain enough in the Records of *ancient* times, and ſome ſo read that place in the Pſalms, *The Gods of the Heathen are Devils*; and *Sathan* we know is call'd the *God of this World*. Yea, our Author him-

ſelf confeſſeth that the Nation of the *Jews* were ſo ſtrictly prohibited *Witchcraft*, and all *tranſaction* with *evil Spirits*; becauſe of their *proneneſs* to *worſhip* them. But what need more? There *are* at *this* day that pay *ſacrifice*, and all *ſacred homage* to the **wicked One** in a *viſible* appearance; and 'tis well known to thoſe of our *own* that *traffick*, and reſide in thoſe parts, that the *Caribbians* worſhip the *Devil* under the name of *Maboya*, who frequently ſhews himſelf, and tranſacts with them; the like Travellers relate concerning divers other parts of the *barbarous Indies*: and 'tis confidently reported by ſober intelligent men that have viſited thoſe places, that moſt of the *Laplanders*, and ſome other *Northern* people, are *Witches*. That 'tis plain that there are *National Confederacies with Devils*; or, if there were none, I ſee not how it could be inferred *thence*, that there are no *perſonal* ones, no more, than that there were never any *Dæmoniacks*, becauſe we know of no *Nation univerſally poſſeſſed*; nor any *Lunaticks* in the world, becauſe there is no *Country* of *Madmen*. But our *Author* reaſons again,

(2) To this purpoſe; "That the *profligate* "perſons who are *obnoxious* to thoſe *groſs temptations*, are faſt enough *before*; and there- "fore ſuch a *Covenant* were *needleſs*, and of no "*avail* to the *Tempters projects*.

This *Objection* I have anſwered already, in my

my Remarques upon the IX Prejudice; and mind you again here, that if the *designs* of those *evil Spirits* were onely in *general* to secure wicked men to the *dark Kingdom*, it might *better* be pretended that we cannot give a reason for their *temptations*, and *endeavours* in this kind; But it being likely, as I have conjectur'd, that each of those *infernal Tempters* hath a *particular property* in *those* he hath *seduced*, and *secured* by such *compacts*, their respective *pride* and *tyrannical* desire of *slaves*, may reasonably be thought to engage them in such *Attempts* in which their so peculiar interest is concerned.

But I add what is more *direct*, viz. That such *desperate* Sinners are made more safe to the *infernal* Kingdom at *large*, by such *Hellish Covenants* and *Combinations*; since thereby they *confirm*, and harden their *Hearts* against God, and put themselves at greater distance from his *Grace*, and his *Spirit*; give the *deepest wound* to Conscience, and resolve to *wink* against all its *light* and *convictions*; throw a *Bar* in the way of their own *Repentance*, and lay a *Train* for *despair* of *Mercy*. These certainly are *sure ways* of *being undone*, and the *Devil* we see, hath *great interest* in a *project*, the success of which is *so attended*. And we know he made the assault *de facto* upon our *Saviour*, when he tempted him to *fall down*, and *worship*. So that this learned Author hath but *little* reason to object

(3) That to endeavour ſuch an expreſs *Covenant* is contrary to the *intereſts of Hell*; which indeed are *this* way ſo mightily promoted. And whereas he ſuggeſts, that a thing ſo *horrid* is like to *ſtartle Conſcience*, and *awaken* the Soul to *Conſideration and Repentance*: I *Reply*, That indeed conſidering *man* in the *general*, as a *rational* Creature, acted by *hopes*, and *fears*, and *ſenſible* of the *joyes* and *miſeries* of *another World*, one would expect *it ſhould be ſo*: But then, if we caſt our eyes upon *man* as *really he is*, *ſunk into fleſh* and *preſent ſenſe*; *darkned* in his *mind*, and *governed* by his *imagination*: *blinded* by his *paſſions*, and *beſotted* by *ſin* and *folly*; *hardned* by *evil Cuſtoms*, and *hurried away* by the *torrent* of his *inclinations* and *deſires*: I ſay, looking on man in this *miſerable* ſtate of *Evil*, 'tis not *incredible* that he ſhould be prevailed upon by the *Tempter*, and his own *Luſts* to act at a *wonderful rate* of *madneſs*, and continue *unconcerned* and *ſtupid* in it; *intent* upon his *preſent ſatisfactions*, without *ſenſe* or *conſideration* of the *dreadfulneſs* and *danger* of his *condition*; and by *this* I am furniſhed alſo to meet a *fourth Objection* of our *Author*'s, viz.

(4) That 'tis not *probable* upon the *Witches* part, that *they* will be ſo *deſperate* to renounce *God* and *eternal happineſs*, and *ſo*, *everlaſtingly* undo their *Bodies* and *Souls*, for a *ſhort* and *trivial intereſt*; which *way* of *arguing* will onely infer,

infer, that Mankind *acts* ſometimes to *prodigious degrees of brutiſhneſs*; and *actually* we *ſee it* in the *inſtances* of every day. There is not a *Luſt ſo baſe*, and ſo *contemptible*, but there are thoſe continually, in our eyes, that *feed it* with the *ſacrifice* of their *eternity*, and their *Souls*; and daring Sinners ruſh upon the *blackeſt* villanies with ſo *little remorſe*, or *ſenſe*, as if it were their *deſign* to prove, that they have nothing left them of *that whereby* they are *men*. So that nought can be inferred from this Argument, but *that humane* nature is *incredibly degenerate*; and the *vileneſs* and *ſtupidity* of men is *really ſo great*, that things are *cuſtomary*, and *common*, which one could not think *poſſible*, if he did not hourly ſee them. And if men of *liberal Education*, and *acute Reaſon*, that know their *duty*, and their *danger*, are driven by their *appetites*, with their *eyes* open, upon the moſt *fatal Rocks*, and make all the haſte they can *from* their *God*, and their *happineſs*; If *ſuch* can *barter* their *Souls* for *trifles*, and *ſell everlaſtingneſs* for a *moment*, *ſport* upon the *brink* of a *Precipice*, and *contemn* all the *terrours* of the future *dreadful* day; Why ſhould it then be *incredible* that a *brutiſh*, *vile* perſon, *ſotted* with *Ignorance*, and *drunk* with *Malice*, *mindleſs* of *God*, and *unconcerned* about a *future Being*, ſhould be perſwaded to accept of *preſent*, *delightful gratifications*, without duly weighing the *deſperate condition*?

Thus,

Thus, I ſuppoſe, I have *anſwered* alſo the *Arguments* of this *great man*, againſt the *Covenants* of Witches; and ſince a perſon of ſuch *ſagacity* and *learning*, hath *no more* to ſay againſt what I defend, and another of the *ſame* Character, the ingenious Mr. *S. Parker*, who directed me to *him*, reckons *theſe* the ſtrongeſt things that can be *objected* in the Caſe, I begin to arrive to an *higher degree of confidence* in this belief; and am almoſt inclined to *fancy*, that there is *little more* to be ſaid to purpoſe, which may not by the *improvement* of my *CONSIDERATIONS* be eaſily anſwered; and I am yet the more fortified in my conceit, becauſe I have ſince the former *Edition* of this Book, ſent to ſeveral *acute* and ingenious perſons of my acquaintance, to beg their *Objections*, or *thoſe* they have heard from others, againſt my *Diſcourſe* or *Relations*, that I might conſider them in *this*: But I can procure *none* ſave onely thoſe *few* I have now diſcuſs'd, moſt of my Friends telling me, that they have not met with *any* that *need*, or *deſerve* my notice.

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## SECT. XIX.

BY all this it is evident, that there were *WITCHES* in ancient times under the *Diſpenſation* of the *LAW*; and that there were

were ſuch in the *times* of the *GOSPEL* alſo, will not be much more difficult to make good. I had a late occaſion to ſay ſomething about this, in a *Letter* to a perſon of the higheſt honour, from which I ſhall now borrow ſome things to my preſent purpoſe.

I SAY then (II) That there were *Compacts* with *evil Spirits* in *thoſe times* alſo, is methinks intimated ſtrongly in that ſaying of the *Jews* concerning our *Saviour, That he caſt out Devils by* Beelzebub. In his return to which, he denies not the *ſuppoſition* or *poſſibility* of the *thing* in general; but clears himſelf by an appeal to the actions of their own Children, whom they would not tax ſo ſeverely. And I cannot very well underſtand why thoſe times ſhould be priviledged from *WITCHCRAFT*, and *Diabolical Compacts*, more than they were from *Poſſeſſions*, which we know were then more *frequent* (for ought appears to the contrary) than ever they were before or ſince. But beſides this, There are intimations plain enough in the *Apoſtles* Writings of the being of *Sorcery* and *WITCHCRAFT*. St. *Paul* reckons *Witchcraft* next *Idolatry*, in his *Catalogue* of the *works* of the *fleſh*, Gal. V. 20. and the *Sorcerers* are again joyn'd with *Idolaters* in that ſad *Denunciation*, Rev. XXI. 8. and a little after, *Rev.* XXII. 15. they are reckoned again among *Idolaters*, *Murderers*, and *thoſe* others that

that are *without*. And methinks the ſtory of *Simon Magus*, and his *diabolical Oppoſitions* of the *Goſpel* in its *beginnings*, ſhould afford clear conviction. To all which, I add this more general conſideration,

(3) That though the *New Teſtament* had mention'd nothing of this matter, yet its *ſilence* in ſuch caſes is not *argumentative*. Our Saviour *ſpake* as he had occaſion, and the thouſandth part of what he *did*, and *ſaid*, is not *recorded*, as one of his Hiſtorians intimates. He ſaid nothing of thoſe large unknown *Tracts* of *America*, nor gave he any intimations of as much as the *Exiſtence* of that *numerous* people; much leſs did he leave *inſtructions* about their *converſion*. He gives no account of the *affairs* and *ſtate* of the *other world*, but onely that *general one* of the *happineſs* of ſome, and the *miſery* of others. He made no diſcovery of the *Magnalia* of *Art* or *Nature*; no, not of thoſe, whereby the *propagation* of the *Goſpel* might have been much *advanced*, viz. the *Myſtery* of *Printing*, and the *Magnet*; and yet no one uſeth his *ſilence* in theſe inſtances as an argument againſt the being of things, which are *evident objects* of *ſenſe*. I confeſs, the omiſſion of ſome of theſe *particulars* is pretty ſtrange, and unaccountable, and concludes our *ignorance* of the *reaſons*, and *menages* of *Providence*; but I ſuppoſe, *nothing elſe*. I thought, I needed here to have ſaid no more,

but

but I conſider, in conſequence of this *Objection*, it is *pretended*; That as *CHRIST JESUS* drive the *Devil* from his *Temples*, and his *Altars*, (as is clear in the *Ceſſation* of *Oracles*, which *dwindled* away, and at laſt grew *ſilent* ſhortly upon his appearance) ſo in like manner, 'tis ſaid, that he *baniſht Him* from his *leſſer holds* in *Sorcerers*, and *Witches*; which *argument* is *peccant* both in what it *affirms*, and in what it would *infer*. For

(1) The coming of the *H. JESUS* did not expel the *Devil* from all the *greater* places of his *reſidence* and *worſhip*; for a conſiderable part of *barbarous* Mankind do him *publick, ſolemn homage*, to *this* day: So that the very *foundation* of the *pretence* fails, and the *Conſequence* without any more ado comes to nothing. And yet beſides,

(2) If there be any *credit* to be given to *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*, there were perſons poſſeſſed with *Devils* ſome Ages after *Chriſt*, whom the *Diſciples* caſt out by *Prayer*, and the *invocation* of his *Name*: So that *Sathan* was not driven from his *leſſer* habitations, aſſoon as he was forced from his more *famous abodes*. And I ſee no reaſon

(3) *Why*, Though Divine Providence would not allow him *publiquely* to abuſe the *Nations*, whom he had deſigned in a ſhort time after, for Subjects of his *Son's Kingdom*, and to ſtand up in the *face* of *Religion* in an *open* affront to the

the *Divinity* that *planted it*, to the great *hindrance* of the *progreſs* of the *Goſpel*, and diſcouragement of *Chriſtian* hopes; I ſay, Though Providence would not allow this height of inſolent oppoſition; yet I ſee not why we may not grant, that God however permitted the Devil to *ſneak* into ſome *private skulking holes*, and to *trade* with the *particular* more *devoted vaſſals* of his *wicked* Empire: As we know that when our *Saviour* had chaſed him from the man that was *poſſeſſed*, he permitted his *retreat* into the *herd* of *Swine*. And I might add,

(4) That 'tis but a *bad* way of arguing, to ſet up *phancied congruities* againſt *plain experience*, as is evidently done by thoſe *arguers*, who, becauſe they think that *Chriſt* chaſed the *Devil* from all his *high places* of *worſhip* when he came; that 'tis therefore *fit* he ſhould have forced him from all his other leſs *notorious Haunts*: and upon the *imagination* of a *decency*, which they frame, *conclude a fact*, contrary to the greateſt evidence of which the thing is capable. And once more

(5) The conſequence of this *imagined Decorum*, if it be purſued, would be *this*, that *Sathan* ſhould now be deprived of all the *ways*, and *tricks* of *Cozenage*, whereby he abuſeth us; and *mankind* ſince the coming of *Chriſt*, ſhould have been ſecure from all his *Temptations*; for there is a greater *congruity* in believing,

ving, that, when he was forced from his *haunts* in *Temples* and *publick* places, he ſhould be put alſo from thoſe *nearer* ones, *about* us and *within* us in his daily *temptations* of *univerſal* Mankind; than, that upon relinquiſhing *thoſe*, he ſhould be made to leave all profeſt *communication* and *correſpondence* with thoſe *profligate* perſons, whoſe *vileneſs* had *fitted* them for ſuch *company*.

So that *theſe Reaſoners* are very Fair for the *denial* of all *internal Diabolical Temptations*. And becauſe I durſt not truſt them, I'le crave your leave here to add ſome things concerning *thoſe*.

In order to which, that I may obtain the favour of thoſe *wary* perſons, who are ſo *coy*, and *ſhy* of their *aſſent*, I grant; That men frequently out of a deſire to *excuſe themſelves*, lay their *own* guilt upon the *Devil*, and charge *him* with things of which in earneſt he is not *guilty*: For, I doubt not but every *wicked* man hath *Devil* enough in his *own nature* to prompt him to Evil, and needs not *another Tempter* to incite him. But yet, that *Sathan* endeavours to further our *wickedneſs*, and our *ruine* by his *inticements*, and *goes up and down ſeeking whom he may devour*, is too evident in the *holy Oracles*, to need my endeavours particularly to make it good; Only thoſe *diffident* men cannot perhaps apprehend the *manner* of the *operation*, and from thence are *tempted* to *believe*, that

that there is really no ſuch thing. Therefore I judge it requiſite to explain *this*, and 'tis not unſutable to my *general* ſubject.

In order to it I conſider, That *ſenſe* is *primarily* cauſed by *motion* in the *Organs*, which by *continuity* is *conveyed* to the *brain*, where *ſenſation* is *immediately* performed; and it is *nothing elſe*, but a *notice excited* in the *Soul* by the *impulſe* of an *external object*. Thus it is in *ſimple outward ſenſe*. But *imagination*, though cauſed *immediately* by *material motion* alſo, yet it differs from the *external ſenſes* in *this*, That 'tis not from an *impreſs directly* from *without*, but the *prime*, and *original motion* is from *within* our *ſelves*: Thus the *Soul* it ſelf ſometimes ſtrikes upon thoſe *ſtrings*, whoſe motion begets ſuch, and ſuch *phantaſms*; otherwhile, the *looſe Spirits* wandring up and down in the *brain*, *caſually* hit upon ſuch *filments* and *ſtrings* whoſe *motion* excites a *conception*, which we call a *Fancy*, or *Imagination*; and if the *evidence* of the *outward ſenſes* be ſhut out by *ſleep* or *melancholy*, in *either* caſe, we *believe* thoſe *repreſentations* to be *real* and *external tranſactions*, when they are onely *within* our *heads*; Thus it is in *Enthuſiaſms*, and *Dreams*. And beſides *theſe cauſes* of the *motions* which ſtir *imagination*, there is little doubt, but that *Spirits good*, or *bad* can ſo move the *inſtruments* of *ſenſe* in the *brain*, as to *awake* ſuch *imaginations*, as they have a mind to *excite*; and the imagina-

imagination having a mighty *influence* upon the *affections*, and *they* upon the *will* and *external actions*, 'tis very easie to conceive how *good Angels* may stir us up to *Religion* and *Vertue*, and the *Evil ones tempt* us to *Lewdness* and *vice*, viz. by *representments* that they make upon the *stage* of *imagination*, which *invite* our *affections*, and *allure*, though they cannot *compel*, our *wills*.

This I take to be an *intelligible account* of *temptations*, and also of *Angelical encouragements*; and perhaps *this* is the onely way of *immediate influence* that the *Spirits* of the other world have upon us. And by it, 'tis easie to give an account of *Dreams* both *Monitory*, and *Temperamental*, *Enthusiasms*, *Fanatick Ecstasies*, and the like, as I suggested.

Thus Sir, to the FIRST. But the other pretence also must be examined.

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## SECT. XX.

(2) [*MIRACLES are ceast, therefore the presumed actions of Witchcraft are tales, and illusions.*]

To make a due return to *this*, we must consider a great and difficult *Problem*, which is, *What is a real Miracle?* And for answer to this weighty Question, I think,

(1) THAT it is not the *ſtrangeneſs*, or *unaccountableneſs* of the *thing done* ſimply, from whence we are to conclude a *Miracle*. For then, we are *ſo* to account of all the *Magnalia* of *Nature*, and all the *Myſteries* of thoſe *honeſt* Arts, which we do not underſtand.

Nor, (2) is this the *Criterion* of a *Miracle*, That it is an action or event beyond all *natural powers*; for we are ignorant of the *extent* and *bounds* of *Natures ſphere*, and *poſſibilities*: And if this were the *character*, and *eſſential mark* of a *Miracle*, we could not know what was *ſo*; except we could determine the *extent* of *natural cauſalities*, and fix their *bounds*, and be able to ſay to *Nature*, *Hitherto canſt thou go, and no further.* And he that makes this his meaſure whereby to judge a *Miracle*, is himſelf the *greateſt Miracle* of *knowledge*, or *immodeſty*. Beſides, though an effect may tranſcend *really* all the *powers* of *meer nature*; yet there is a *world* of *ſpirits* that muſt be taken into our account. And as to them alſo I ſay,

(3) Every thing is not a *Miracle* that is done by *Agents ſupernatural.* There is no doubt but that *evil Spirits* can make *wonderful combinations* of *natural cauſes*, and perhaps perform many things *immediately* which are *prodigious*, and beyond the *longeſt line* of *Nature*: but yet *Theſe* are not therefore to be called *Miracles*; for, *THEY are SACRED WON-*

*WONDERS, and ſuppoſe the POWER to be DIVINE.* But how ſhall the *power* be *known* to be *ſo*, when we ſo little underſtand the *capacities*, and *extent* of the abilities of *lower Agents?* The Anſwer to this *Queſtion* will diſcover the *Criterion* of *Miracles*, which muſt be ſuppoſed to have all the former particulars; (They are *unaccountable*, *beyond the powers of meer nature*, and *done by Agents ſupernatural*) and to theſe muſt be ſuperadded,

(4) That they have *peculiar circumſtances* that ſpeak them of a *divine Original.* Their *mediate Authors* declare them to *be ſo*, and *they* are always perſons of *Simplicity*, *Truth*, and *Holineſs*, *void* of *Ambition*, and all *ſecular Deſigns.* They ſeldom uſe *Ceremonies*, or *natural Applications*, and yet ſurmount all the *activities* of *known Nature.* They work thoſe wonders, not to raiſe *admiration*, or out of the *vanity* to be *talkt* of; but to *ſeal* and *confirm* ſome *divine Doctrine*, or *Commiſſion*, in which the *good* and *happineſs* of the world is concern'd. I ſay, by ſuch *circumſtances* as *theſe*, *wonderful* actions are *known* to be from a *Divine* cauſe; and *that makes*, and *diſtinguiſheth* a *Miracle.*

And thus I am prepared for an *Anſwer* to the *Objection*, to which I make this brief return, That though WITCHES by their *Confederate Spirit* do thoſe *odd*, and *aſtoniſhing* things we believe of them; yet are they no *Miracles*,

there being evidence enough from the *badneſs* of their *Lives*, and the *ridiculous Ceremonies* of their *performances*, from their *malice* and *miſchievous deſigns*, that the *POWER* that works, and the end for which thoſe things are done, is not *Divine*, but *Diabolical*. And by *ſingular providence* they are not ordinarily permitted, as much as to *pretend* to any *new ſacred Diſcoveries* in matters of *Religion*, or to act any thing for *confirmation* of *doctrinal Impoſtures*. So that whether *Miracles* are *ceaſed*, or not, *theſe* are *none*. And that ſuch *Miracles* as are onely *ſtrange*, and *unaccountable* performances, above the common *methods* of *Art* or *Nature*, are not *ceas'd*, we have a late great Evidence in the famous *GREATRAK*; concerning whom it will not be impertinent to add the following *Account* which I had in a *Letter* from the Reverend Dr. *R.* Dean of *C.* a perſon of great *veracity*, and a *Philoſopher*. This learned Gentleman then is pleaſed thus to write.

"THE great diſcourſe now at the *Coffee-houſes*, and every where, is about "Mr. *G.* the famous *Iriſh Stroker*, concerning "whom it is like you expect an account from "me. He undergoes various cenſures here, "ſome take him to be a *Conjurer*, and ſome, an "*Impoſtor*, but others again *adore* him as an "*Apoſtle*. I confeſs I think the man is free

"from

"from all *deſign*, of a very *agreeable* Converſation, not addicted to any *Vice*, nor to any "*Sect* or *Party*; but is, I believe, a *ſincere Proteſtant*. I was three weeks together with "him at my Lord *Conwayes*, and ſaw him, I "think, lay his hands upon a thouſand perſons; "and *really* there is ſomething in it more than "*ordinary*; but I am convinc'd it is not *miraculous*. I have ſeen *pains* ſtrangely fly before "his hand till he hath chafed them out of the "Body, *Dimneſs cleared*, and *Deafneſs* cured by "his *touch*; Twenty perſons at ſeveral times "in *fits* of the *Falling Sickneſs*, were in two or "three minutes brought to themſelves, ſo as "to tell where their pain was, and then he hath "purſued it till he hath driven it out at ſome "extream part; *Running Sores* of the *Kings "Evil* dried up, and *Kernels* brought to a *Suppuration* by his hand; *grievous Sores* of many moneths date, in few days *healed*; *Obſtructions* and *Stoppings removed*, *Cancerous "Knots* in the Breaſt *diſſolved*, &c.

"But yet I have many reaſons to perſwade "me, that nothing of all this is *miraculous*: "He pretends not to give *Teſtimony* to any "*Doctrine*, the manner of his *Operation* ſpeaks "it to be *natural*, the *Cure* ſeldom ſucceeds "without *reiterated touches*, his *Patients* often "*relapſe*, he *fails frequently*, he can do nothing "where there is any *decay* in *Nature*, and *many* "*Diſtempers* are not at all obedient to his *touch*.

" So that, I confeſs, I refer all his vertue to his " *particular Temper* and *Complexion*, and I take " his *Spirits* to be a kind of *Elixir*, and *uni-* " *verſal Ferment*; and that he cures (as Dr. *M.* " expreſſeth it) by a *ſanative Contagion. En-* " *thuſiaſm. Triumphat.* Sect. 58.

This, Sir, was the *Firſt Account* of the *Healer*, I had from that Reverend Perſon, which with me ſignifies more, than the *atteſtations* of multitudes of *ordinary Reporters*; and no doubt but it will do ſo likewiſe, with all that know that excellent man's ſingular *Integrity* and *Judgment*. But beſides this, upon my enquiry into ſome other particulars about this matter, I received theſe further Informations.

" As for Mr. *G.* what opinion he hath of his " *own Gift*, and how he came to know it? I " anſwer, He hath a different apprehenſion of " it from *yours*, and *mine*, and certainly belie- " veth it to be an *immediate Gift* from Heaven; " and 'tis no wonder, for he is *no Philoſopher*. " And you will wonder leſs, when you hear " *how* he came to *know* it, as I have often recei- " ved it from his own mouth. About three " or four years ago he had a ſtrong *impulſe* up- " on his *ſpirit*, that continually purſued him " whatever he was about, at his *Buſineſs*, or " *Devotion*, *alone*, or in *company*, that ſpake to " him

" him by this *inward ſuggeſtion* [*I have given*
" *thee the gift of curing the Evil.*]. This *ſug-*
" *geſtion* was ſo *importunate*, that he complai-
" ned to his Wife, That he thought he was
" haunted: She apprehended it as an *extra-*
" *vagancy* of *Fancy*, but he told her he belie-
" ved there was more in it, and was reſolved
" to try. He did not long want opportunity.
" There was a Neighbour of his grievouſly af-
" flicted with the *Kings-Evil*, He ſtroked her,
" and the effect ſucceeded. And for about a
" Twelve-moneth together he pretended to
" cure no other Diſtemper. But then the
" *Ague* being very rife in the Neighbourhood,
" the ſame *Impulſe* after the ſame manner ſpoke
" within him, [*I have given thee the gift of*
" *curing the Ague*;] and meeting with perſons
" in their *Fits*, and taking them by the hand,
" or laying his hand upon their Breaſts, the
" *Ague* left them. About half a year after
" the accuſtomed *Impulſe* became more *general*,
" and ſuggeſted to him [*I have given thee the*
" *gift of Healing:*] and then he attempted all
" Diſeaſes *indifferently*. And though he ſaw
" ſtrange effects, yet he doubted whether
" the cauſe were any vertue that came from
" him, or the peoples fancy: To convince him
" of his *incredulity*, as he lay one night in bed,
" one of his Hands was ſtruck *dead*, and the
" uſual *Impulſe* ſuggeſted to him to make trial
" of his vertue upon himſelf, which he did,

" ſtroking it with his other hand, and then it " immediately returned to its former *livelineſs*. " This was repeated two or three nights (or " mornings) together.

" This is his *Relation*, and I believe there is " ſo much ſincerity in the perſon, that he tells " no more than what he believes to be *true*. " To ſay that this Impulſe too was but a *reſult* " of his *Temper*, and that it is but like *Dreams* " that are uſually according to mens *conſtitu-* " *tions*, doth not ſeem a *probable account* of the " *Phænomenon*. Perhaps ſome may think it " more likely, that ſome *Genius* who under- " ſtood the *ſanative vertue* of his *Complexion*, " and the *readineſs* of his *Mind*, and *ability* of " his *Body*, to put it in execution, might give " him notice of *that* which otherwiſe might " have been for ever *unknown* to him, and ſo " the *Gift* of *God* had been to no purpoſe.

This, Sir, is my Learned and Reverend Friend's *Relation*, and I judge his *Reflections* as *ingenious* as his *Report* is *ſincere*. I ſhall ſay no more about it but *this*, that many of thoſe *matters* of *Fact*, have been ſince *critically inſpected* and *examined* by ſeveral *ſagacious* and *deep* ſearches of the ROYAL SOCIETY, whom we may ſuppoſe as unlikely to be deceived by a *contrived Impoſture*, as any perſons extant.

And

And now, Sir, 'tis fit that I relieve your patience; and I ſhall do ſo, when I have ſaid, that *You* can abundantly *prove*, what I have thus attempted to *defend*: And that among the many Obligations your *Country* hath to you, for the *Wiſdom* and *Diligence* of your Endeavours in its ſervice; your *Ingenious Induſtry* for the *Detecting* of thoſe *vile Practiſers*, is not the leaſt *conſiderable*. To which I will add no more, but the *Confeſſion* who it is that hath given you all this trouble; which I know you are ready to *pardon*, to the reſpect and good *Intentions* of

SIR,

*Your Affectionate and Obliged*

*Honourer and Servant,*

J. G.

ADVER-

# ADVERTISEMENT.

HItherto reacheth the Author's ingenious *Conſiderations about Witchcraft*. But underſtanding by his Letters and Papers, that he intended ſomething further to enlarge this Firſt Part of his *Saduciſmus Triumphatus*, which concerns the *Poſſibility* of the Exiſtence of *Spirits*, *Apparitions*, and *Witches*, but that he has done nothing therein, being prevented by Death, I thought it might prove not an unuſeful Supplement, to tranſlate moſt of the two laſt Chapters of Dr. *H. M.* his *Enchiridion Metaphyſicum* into Engliſh, and add it to this Firſt Part, as a ſuitable Appendage thereto. Which is as follows.

---

AN

AN

# APPENDAGE

To this First PART,

Concerning the

# POSSIBILITY

OF

# APPARITIONS

AND

# Witchcraft.

Containing

The eaſie, true, and genuine NOTION, and conſiſtent Explication of the Nature

OF A

# SPIRIT,

Whereby

The POSSIBILITY of the EXISTENCE of SPIRITS, APPARITIONS, and WITCHCRAFT is further confirmed.

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*LONDON:* Printed, 1681.

# The Eaſie, True, and Genuine NOTION And Conſiſtent EXPLICATION Of the NATURE of a SPIRIT.

## SECT. I.

### *The Opinions of the NULLIBISTS and HOLENMERIANS propoſed.*

THat we may explicate the *Eſſence* or *Notion* of *Incorporeal Beings* or *Spirits*, with the greater ſatisfaction and ſucceſs, we are firſt to remove two vaſt Mounds of Darkneſs, wherewith the ignorance of ſome hath encumbred and obſcured their nature.

And the firſt is of thoſe who though they readily acknowledge there are ſuch things as *Incor-*

*Incorporeal Beings* or *Spirits*, yet do very peremptorily contend that they are *no where* in the whole World. Which opinion, though at the very firſt ſight it appears ridiculous, yet it is ſtiffly held by the maintainers of it, and that not without ſome Faſtuoſity and Superciliouſneſs, or at leaſt ſome more ſly and tacite contempt of ſuch Philoſophers as hold the contrary, as of men leſs intellectual and too too much indulging to their *Imagination*. Thoſe other therefore becauſe they ſo boldly affirm that a *Spirit* is *Nullibi*, that is to ſay, *Nowhere*, have deſervedly purchaſed to themſelves the Name or Title of *Nullibiſts*.

The other Mound of Darkneſs laid upon the nature of a *Spirit*, is by thoſe who willingly indeed acknowledge that *Spirits* are *ſomewhere*; but add further, That they are not onely entirely or totally in their whole *Ubi* or place, (in the moſt general ſence of the word) but are totally in every part or point thereof, and deſcribe the peculiar nature of a *Spirit* to be ſuch, that it muſt be *Totus in toto & totus in qualibet ſui parte*. Which therefore the *Greeks* would fitly and briefly call οὐσίαν ὁλεμερῆ, [*an Eſſence that is all of it in each part*] and this propriety thereof (τῆς ἀσωμάτων οὐσιῶν τὴν ὁλεμέρειαν) the *Holenmeriſm* of *Incorporeal Beings*. Whence alſo theſe other Philoſophers diametrically oppoſite to the former, may moſt ſignificantly and compendiouſly be called *Holenmerians*.

Sect.

## SECT. II.

*That* Cartesius *is the Prince of the* Nullibists, *and wherein chiefly consists the force of their Opinion.*

THe Opinions of both which kind of Philosophers having sufficiently explained, we will now propose and confute the Reasons of each of them; and first of the *Nullibists*. Of whom the chief Author and Leader seems to have been that pleasant Wit *Renatus Des Cartes*, who by his jocular *Metaphysical Meditations*, has so luxated and distorted the rational Faculties of some otherwise sober and quick-witted persons, but in this point by reason of their over-great admiration of *Des Cartes* not sufficiently cautious, that deceived, partly by his counterfeit and prestigious subtilty, and partly by his Authority, have perswaded themselves that such things were most *true* and *clear* to them; which had they not been blinded with these prejudices, they could never have thought to have been so much as possible. And so they having been so industriously taught, and diligently instructed by him, how they might not be imposed upon, no not by the most powerful and most ill-minded fallacious Deity, have heedlesly

leſly, by not ſufficiently ſtanding upon their guard, been deceived and illuded by a mere man, but of a pleaſant and abundantly-cunning and abſtruſe Genius; as ſhall clearly appear after we have ſearched and examined the reaſons of this Opinion of the *Nullibiſts* to the very bottom.

The whole force whereof is compriſed in theſe three Axioms. The firſt, *That whatſoever thinks is Immaterial,* and ſo on the contrary. The ſecond, *That whatever is extended is Material.* The third, *That whatever is unextended is Nowhere.* To which third I ſhall add this fourth, as a neceſſary and manifeſt Conſectary thereof, *viz. That whatſoever is ſomewhere is extended.* Which the *Nullibiſts* of themſelves will eaſily grant me to be moſt true. Otherwiſe they could not ſeriouſly contend for their Opinion, whereby they affirm Spirits to be *nowhere*; but would be found to do it only by way of an oblique and cloſe deriſion of their Exiſtence, ſaying indeed they *exiſt*, but then again hiddenly and cunningly denying it, by affirming they are *nowhere.* Wherefore doubtleſly they affirm them to be *nowhere*, if they are in good earneſt, for this reaſon onely; for fear they granting them to be ſomewhere, it would be preſently extorted from them, even according to their own Principles, that they are *extended*, as whatever is Extended, is Material, according to their ſecond Axiome. It

is

is therefore manifeſt that we both agree in this, that whatever real Being there is that is *ſomewhere*, is alſo *Extended*.

## SECT. III.

*The Sophiſtical weakneſs of that reaſoning of the* Nullibiſts, *who, becauſe we can conceive Cogitation without conceiving in the mean while Matter, conclude, That whatſoever thinks is Immaterial.*

WIth which truth notwithſtanding we being furniſhed and ſupported, I doubt not but we ſhall with eaſe quite overthrow and utterly root out this Opinion of the *Nullibiſts*. But that their levity and credulity may more manifeſtly appear, let us examine the Principles of this Opinion by parts, and conſider how well they make good each member.

The firſt is, *Whatever thinks is Immaterial*, and on the contrary. The converſion of this Axiome I will not examine, becauſe it makes little to the preſent purpoſe. I will onely note by the by, that I doubt not but it may be falſe, although I eaſily grant the Axiome itſelf to be true. But it is this new Method of demonſtrating it I call into queſtion, which from hence, that we can conceive *Cogitation*, in the

mean time not conceiving *Matter*, concludes that *Whatever thinks is Immaterial.* Now that we can conceive *Cogitation* without conceiving *Matter*, they ſay is manifeſt from hence, That although one ſhould ſuppoſe there were no Body in the Univerſe, and ſhould not flinch from that poſition, yet notwithſtanding he would not ceaſe to be certain, that there was *Res cogitans*, a *thinking Being*, in the World, he finding himſelf to be ſuch. But I further add, though he ſhould ſuppoſe there was no *Immaterial* Being in nature, (nor indeed *Material*) and ſhould not flinch from that poſition, yet he would not ceaſe to be certain that there was a *thinking Being*, (no not if he ſhould ſuppoſe himſelf not to be a thinking Being) becauſe he can *ſuppoſe* nothing without *Cogitation.* Which I thought worth the while to note by the by, that the great levity of the *Nullibiſts* might hence more clearly appear.

But yet I add further, that ſuch is the nature of the Mind of man, that it is like the Eye, better fitted to contemplate other things than itſelf; and that therefore it is no wonder that thinking nothing of its own Eſſence, it does fixedly enough and intently conſider in the mean time and contemplate all other things, yea, thoſe very things with which ſhe has the neareſt affinity, and yet without any reflection that herſelf is of the like nature.

Whence

Whence it may eaſily come to paſs, when ſhe is ſo wholly taken up in contemplating other things without any reflection upon herſelf, that either careleſly ſhe may conſider herſelf in general as a *mere thinking Being*, without any other Attribute, or elſe by reſolvedneſs afterwards, and by a force on purpoſe offered to her own faculties. But that this reaſoning is wonderfully weak and trifling as to the proving of the Mind of man to be nothing elſe; that is to ſay, to have no other *Attributes* but mere *Cogitation*, there is none that does not diſcern.

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## SECT. IV.

### *The true Method that ought to be taken for the proving that MATTER cannot think.*

LAſtly, if *Carteſius* with his *Nullibiſts* would have dealt *bona fide*, they ought to have omitted all thoſe ambagious windings and Meanders of feigned *Abſtraction*, and with a direct ſtroke to have faln upon the thing itſelf, and ſo to have ſifted *Matter*, and ſearched the nature of *Cogitation*, that they might thence have evidently demonſtrated that there was ſome inſeparable Attribute in *Matter* that is repugnant to the *Cogitative* faculty, or in *Cogitation* that is repugnant to *Matter*. But out

of the mere diverſity of Idea's or Notions of any Attributes, to collect their ſeparability or *real* diſtinction, yea their contrariety and repugnancy, is moſt foully to violate the indiſpenſable Laws of *Logick*, and to confound *Diverſa* with *Oppoſita*, and make them all one. Which miſtake to them that underſtand *Logick* muſt needs appear very coarſe and abſurd.

But that the weakneſs and vacillancy of this Method may yet more clearly appear, let us ſuppoſe that which yet Philoſophers of no mean name ſeriouſly ſtand for and aſſert, *viz.* That *Cogitative* ſubſtance is either *Material* or *Immaterial*; does it not apparently follow thence, that a *thinking* ſubſtance may be preciſely conceived without the conception of *Matter*, as *Matter* without the conception of *Cogitation*, when notwithſtanding in one of the members of this diſtribution they are joyned ſufficiently cloſe together?

How can therefore this newfangled Method of *Carteſius* convince us that this Suppoſition is falſe, and that the diſtribution is illegitimate? Can it from thence, that *Matter* may be conceived without *Cogitation*, and *Cogitation* without *Matter*? The firſt all grant, and the other the diſtribution itſelf ſuppoſes; and yet continues ſufficiently firm and ſure. Therefore it is very evident, that there is a neceſſity of our having recourſe to the known and ratified

tified Laws of *Logick*, which many Ages before this new upſtart Method of *Des Cartes* appeared, were eſtabliſhed and approved by the common ſuffrage of Mankind; Which teach us that in every legitimate diſtribution the parts ought *conſentire cum toto, & diſſentire inter ſe*, to agree with the Whole, but diſagree one with another. Now in this Diſtribution that they do ſufficiently diſagree, it is very manifeſt. It remains onely to be proved, that one of the parts, namely that which ſuppoſes that a *Cogitative* ſubſtance may be *Material*, is repugnant to the nature of the Whole. This is that clear, ſolid and manifeſt way or method according to the known Laws of *Logick*; but that new way, a kind of Sophiſtry and pleaſant mode of trifling and prevaricating.

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## SECT. V.

*That all things are in ſome ſort extended, demonſtrated out of the Corollary of the third Principle of the* Nullibiſts,

AS for the ſecond Axiome or Principle, *viz. That whatſoever is extended is Material*; for the evincing the falſity thereof, there want no new Arguments, if one have but recourſe to the Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Chapters of *Enchiridium Metaphyſicum*, where by unanſwerable

ſwerable reaſonings it is demonſtrated, That there is a certain Immaterial and Immovable *Extenſum* diſtinct from the movable Matter. But however, out of the Conſectary of their third Principle, we ſhall prove at once, that all Spirits are Extended as being ſomewhere, againſt the wild and ridiculous Opinion of the *Nullibiſts*.

Whoſe third Principle, and out of which immediately and preciſely they conclude Spirits to be nowhere, is, *Whatſoever is unextended is nowhere.* Which I very willingly grant; but on this condition, that they on the other ſide concede (and I doubt not but they will) That *whatſoever is ſomewhere is alſo extended*; from which Conſectary I will evince with Mathematical certainty, That God and our Soul, and all other Immaterial Beings, are in ſome ſort extended: For the *Nullibiſts* themſelves acknowledge and aſſert, that the Operations wherewith the Soul acts on the Body, are in the Body; and that Power or Divine Vertue wherewith God acts on the Matter and moves it, is preſent in every part of the Matter. Whence it is eaſily gathered, That the Operation of the Soul and the moving Power of God is ſomewhere, *viz.* in the *Body*, and in the *Matter*. But the Operation of the *Soul* wherewith it acts on the *Body* and the *Soul itſelf*, and the Divine Power wherewith *God* moves the *Matter* and *God himſelf*, are together, nor can

ſo much as be imagined ſeparate one from the other; namely, the *Operation* from the *Soul*, and the *Power* from *God*. Wherefore if the Operation of the Soul is ſomewhere, the Soul is ſomewhere, *viz.* there where the Operation. And if the Power of God be ſomewhere, God is ſomewhere, namely, there where the Divine Power is; *He* in every part of the *Matter*, the *Soul* in the humane *Body*. Whoſoever can deny this, by the ſame reaſon he may deny that common Notion in Mathematicks, Quantities that are ſingly equal to one third, are equal to one another.

## SECT. VI.

*The apert confeſſion of the* Nullibiſts *that the ESSENCE of a Spirit is where its OPERATION is; and how they contradict themſelves, and are forced to acknowledge a Spirit extended.*

AND verily that which we contend for, the *Nullibiſts* ſeem apertly to aſſert, even in their own expreſs words, as it is evident in *Lambertus Velthuſius* in his *De Initiis Primæ Philoſophiæ*, in the Chapter *De Ubi*. Who though he does manifeſtly affirm that God and the Mind of man by their Operations are in every part or ſome one part of the Matter;

and that in that ſence, namely, in reſpect of their *Operations*, the *Soul* may be truly ſaid to be *ſomewhere*, *God everywhere*; as if that were the onely mode of their preſence: yet he does expreſly grant that the *Eſſence* is nowhere ſeparate from *that* whereby God or a created Spirit is ſaid to be, the one *everywhere*, the other *ſomewhere*; that no man may conceit the *Eſſence* of God to be where the reſt of his *Attributes* are not. That the *Eſſence* of God is in Heaven, but that his *Vertue* diffuſes itſelf beyond Heaven. No by no means, ſaith he, Whereſoever *God*'s Power or *Operation* is, there is the *Nature* of *God*; foraſmuch as God is a Subſtance devoid of all compoſition. Thus far *Velthuſius*. Whence I aſſume, But the Power or *Operation* of *God* is in or preſent to the *Matter*, Therefore the *Eſſence* of *God* is in or preſent to the *Matter*, and is there where the Matter is, and therefore *ſomewhere*. Can there be any deduction or illation more cloſe and coherent with the Premiſes?

And yet that other moſt devoted follower of the *Cartéſian* Philoſophy, *Ludovicus De-la-Forge*, cannot abſtain from the offering us the ſame advantage of arguing, or rather from the inferring the ſame concluſion with us, in his Treatiſe *De Mente Humana*, Chap. 12. where occur theſe words: Laſtly, when I ſay that *God* is preſent to all things by his *Omnipotency*, (and conſequently to all the parts of the

the Matter) I do not deny but that alſo by his *Eſſence* or *Subſtance* he is preſent to them: For all thoſe things in God are one and the ſame.

Doſt thou hear, my *Nullibiſt*, what one of the chiefeſt of thy Condiſciples and moſt religious Symmiſts of that ſtupendious ſecret of *Nullibiſm* plainly profeſſes, namely, that *God* is preſent to all the parts of *Matter* by his *Eſſence* alſo, or *Subſtance*? And yet you in the mean while bluſh not to aſſert, that neither God nor any created ſpirit is any where; than which nothing more contradictious can be ſpoke or thought, or more abhorring from all reaſon. Wherefore whenas the *Nullibiſts* come ſo near to the truth, it ſeems impoſſible they ſhould, ſo all of a ſuddain, ſtart from it, unleſs they were blinded with a ſuperſtitious admiration of *Des Cartes* his Metaphyſicks, and were deluded, effaſcinated and befooled with his jocular Subtilty and preſtigious Abſtractions there: For who in his right wits can acknowledge that a *Spirit* by its *Eſſence* may be preſent to Matter and yet be *nowhere*, unleſs the Matter were nowhere alſo? And that a Spirit may penetrate, poſſeſs, and actuate ſome determinate Body, and yet not be in that Body? In which if it be, it is plainly neceſſary it be ſomewhere.

And yet the ſame *Ludovicus De-la-Forge* does manifeſtly aſſert, that the Body is thus poſſeſt

poſſeſt and actuated by the Soul, in his Preface to his Treatiſe *De Mente Humana*, while he declares the Opinion of *Marcilius Ficinus* concerning the manner how the Soul actuates the Body in *Marſilius* his own words, and does of his own accord aſſent to his Opinion. What therefore do theſe *Forms* to the Body when they communicate to it their *Eſſe*? They throughly penetrate it with their *Eſſence*, they bequeath the *Vertue* of their *Eſſence* to it. But now whereas the *Eſſe* is deduced from the *Eſſence*, and the *Operation* flows from the *Vertue*, by conjoyning the *Eſſence* they impart the *Eſſe*, by bequeathing the *Vertue* they communicate the *Operations*; ſo that out of the congreſs of Soul and Body, there is made one *Animal Eſſe*, one *Operation*. Thus he. The Soul with her Eſſence penetrates and pervades the whole Body, and yet is not where the Body is, but nowhere in the Univerſe!

With what manifeſt repugnancy therefore to their other *Aſſertions* the *Nullibiſts* hold this ridiculous Concluſion, we have ſufficiently ſeen, and how weak their chiefeſt prop is, That *whatever is Extended is Material*; which is not onely confuted by irrefragable Arguments, *Chap.* 6, 7, and 8. *Enchirid. Metaphyſ.* but we have here alſo, by ſo clearly proving that all *Spirits* are *ſomewhere*, utterly ſubverted it, even from that very Conceſſion or Opinion of the *Nullibiſts* themſelves, who concede or aver that

that *whatſoever is ſomewhere is extended.* Which *Spirits* are and yet are not *Material.*

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## SECT. VII.

*The more light reaſonings of the* Nullibiſts *whereby they would confirm their Opinion. The firſt of which is, That the Soul thinks of thoſe things which are nowhere.*

BUt we will not paſs by their more ſlight reaſonings in ſo great a matter, or rather ſo monſtrous. Of which the firſt is, That the Mind of man thinks of ſuch things as are *nowhere*, nor have any relation to place, no not ſo much as to *Logical* place or *Ubi.* Of which ſort are many truths as well *Moral* as *Theological* and *Logical*, which being of ſuch a nature that they are *nowhere*, the *Mind* of man which conceives them is neceſſarily *nowhere* alſo. But how crazily and inconſequently they collect that the humane Soul is *nowhere*, for that it thinks of thoſe things that are *nowhere*, may be apparent to any one from hence, and eſpecially to the *Nullibiſts* themſelves; becauſe from the ſame reaſon it would follow that the *Mind* of man is *ſomewhere*, becauſe ſometimes, if not always in a manner, it thinks of thoſe things which are *ſomewhere*, as all *Material* things are. Which yet they dare

dare not grant, becauſe it would plainly follow from thence, according to their Doctrine, that the Mind or Soul of man were *extended*, and ſo would become *corporeal* and devoid of all *Cogitation*. But beſides, Theſe things which they ſay are *nowhere*, namely, certain *Moral*, *Logical*, and *Theological* Truths, are really *ſomewhere*, viz. in the *Soul* itſelf which conceives them; but the Soul is in the Body, as we proved above. Whence it is manifeſt that the Soul and thoſe Truths which ſhe conceives are as well *ſomewhere* as the Body itſelf. I grant that ſome Truths as they are *Repreſentations*, neither reſpect *Time* nor *Place* in whatever ſence. But as they are *Operations*, and therefore *Modes* of ſome *Subject* or *Subſtance*, they cannot be otherwiſe conceived than in ſome ſubſtance. And foraſmuch as there is no ſubſtance which has not ſome amplitude, they are in a ſubſtance which is in ſome ſort extended; and ſo by reaſon of their *Subject* they are neceſſarily conceived to be ſomewhere, becauſe a *Mode* is inſeparable from a *Subject*.

Nor am I at all moved with that giddy and raſh tergiverſation which ſome betake themſelves to here, who ſay we do not well in diſtinguiſhing betwixt *Cogitation* (ſuch as are all conceived verities) and the *Subſtance* of the *Soul cogitating*: For *Cogitation* itſelf is the very *Subſtance* of the *Soul*, as *Extenſion* is of *Matter*,

*Matter*; and that therefore the *Soul* is as well *nowhere* as any *Cogitation*, which reſpects neither time nor place, would be, if it were found in no *Subject*. But here the *Nullibiſts*, who would thus eſcape, do not obſerve that while they acknowledge the *Subſtance* of the Soul to be *Cogitation*, they therewithal acknowledge the Soul to have a Subſtance, whence it is neceſſary it have ſome amplitude. And beſides, This Aſſertion whereby they aſſert Cogitation to be the very ſubſtance of the Soul, is manifeſtly falſe. For many Operations of the Soul, are, as they ſpeak, *ſpecifically* different; Which therefore ſucceeding one after another, will be ſo many Subſtances *ſpecifically* different. And ſo the Soul of *Socrates* will not always be the ſame *ſpecifical* Soul, and much leſs the ſame *numerical*; Than which what can be imagined more delirant, and more remote from common ſenſe?

To which you may adde, That the *Soul* of man is a *permanent* Being, but her *Cogitations* in a *flux* or *ſucceſſion*; How then can the very ſubſtance of the Soul be its ſucceſſive Operations? And when the ſubſtance of the Soul does ſo perpetually ceaſe or periſh, what I beſeech you will become of Memory? From whence it is manifeſtly evident, that there is a certain *permanent* Subſtance of the Soul, as much diſtinct or different from her ſucceeding *Cogitations*, as the *Matter* itſelf is from its ſucceſſive *figures* and *motions*.

Sect.

## SECT. VIII.

*The ſecond reaſon of the* Nullibiſts, *viz. That* COGITATION *is eaſily conceived without* EXTENSION.

THe ſecond Reaſon is ſomewhat coincident with ſome of thoſe we have already examined; but it is briefly propoſed by them thus: There can be no conception, no not of a *Logical Place*, or *Ubi*, without *Extenſion*. But *Cogitation* is eaſily conceived without conceiving any *Extenſion*: Wherefore the Mind cogitating, exempt from all *Extenſion*, is exempt alſo from all *Locality* whether *Phyſical* or *Logical*; and is ſo looſened from it, that it has no *relation* nor *applicability* thereto; as if thoſe things had no relation nor applicability to other certain things without which they might be conceived.

The weakneſs of this argumentation is eaſily deprehended from hence, That the *Intenſneſs* of heat or motion is conſidered without any reſpect to its *extenſion*, and yet it is referred to an extended Subject, *viz.* To a Bullet ſhot, or red hot Iron. And though in intent and defixed thoughts upon ſome either difficult or pleaſing Object, we do not at all obſerve how the time paſſeth, nor take the ſlighteſt

ſlighteſt notice of it, nothing hinders notwithſtanding but thoſe Cogitations may be applied to time, and it be rightly ſaid, that about ſix a clock, ſuppoſe, in the Morning they began, and continued till eleven; and in like manner the place may be defined where they were conceived, *viz.* within the Walls of ſuch an ones Study, although perhaps all that time this ſo fixt Contemplator did not take notice whether he was in his *Study* or in the *Fields*.

And to ſpeak out the matter at once, From the *preciſion* of our thoughts to infer the *real* preciſion or *ſeparation* of the things themſelves, is a very putid and puerile Sophiſm; and ſtill the more enormous and wilde, to collect alſo thence, that they have no relation nor applicability one to another. For we may have a clear and diſtinct *apprehenſion* of a thing which may be connected with another by an *eſſential* Tye, that Tye being not taken notice of, (and much more when they are connected onely with a *circumſtantial* one) but not a full and adequate *apprehenſion*, and ſuch as ſees through and penetrates all the degrees of its Eſſence with their properties; Which unleſs a man reach to, he cannot rightly judge of the real ſeparability of any nature from other natures.

From whence it appears how foully *Carteſius* has impoſed, if not upon himſelf, at leaſt upon others, when from this mental preciſion of

of *Cogitation* from *Extenſion*, he defined a Spirit (ſuch as the humane Soul) by *Cogitation* onely, *Matter* by *Extenſion*, and divided all *Subſtance* into *Cogitant* and *Extended*, as into their firſt ſpecies or kinds. Which diſtribution notwithſtanding is as abſonous and abſurd, as if he had diſtributed *Animal* into *Senſitive* and *Rational*. Whenas all *Subſtance* is *extended* as well as all *Animals ſenſitive*. But he fixed his Animadverſion upon the *ſpecifick* nature of the humane Soul; the *Generical* nature thereof, either on purpoſe or by inadvertency, being not conſidered nor taken notice of by him, as hath been noted in *Enchiridion Ethicum*, lib. 3. cap. 4. ſect. 3.

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## SECT. IX.

*The third and laſt Reaſon of the* Nullibiſts, *viz. That the Mind is conſcious to herſelf, that ſhe is nowhere, unleſs ſhe be diſturbed or jogged by the Body.*

THe third and laſt Reaſon, which is the moſt ingenious of them all, occurs in *Lambertus Velthuſius*, viz. That it is a truth which God has infuſed into the Mind itſelf, That ſhe is nowhere, becauſe we know by experience that we cannot tell from our ſpiritual Operations where the Mind is. And for that

we

we know her to be in our Body, that we onely perceive from the Operations of *Senſe* and *Imagination*, which without the Body or the motion of the Body the Mind cannot perform. The ſence whereof, if I gueſs right, is this; That the Mind by a certain internal ſenſe is conſcious to herſelf that ſhe is *nowhere*, unleſs ſhe be now and then diſturbed by the motions or joggings of the Body; which is, as I ſaid, an ingenious preſage, but not true: For it is one thing to perceive herſelf to be nowhere, another not to perceive herſelf to be ſomewhere. For ſhe may not perceive herſelf to be ſomewhere, though ſhe be ſomewhere, as ſhe may not take notice of her own *Individuality*, or *numerical Diſtinction*, from all other minds, although ſhe be one *Numerical* or *Individual* mind diſtinct from the reſt: For, as I intimated above, ſuch is the nature of the mind of man, that like the eye, it is better fitted for the contemplating all other things, than for contemplating itſelf. And that indeed which is made for the clearly and ſincerely ſeeing other things, ought to have nothing of itſelf actually perceptible in it, which it might mingle with the perception of thoſe other things. From whence the Mind of man is not to have any ſtable and fixt ſenſe of its own Eſſence; and ſuch as it cannot eaſily lay aſide upon occaſion: And therefore it is no wonder, whenas the Mind of man can put off the ſenſe and

conſciouſneſs to itſelf of its own *Eſſence* and *Individuality*, that it can put off alſo therewith the ſenſe of its being *ſomewhere*, or not perceive it; whenas it does not perceive its own *Eſſence* and *Individuality*, (of which *Hic & Nunc* are the known Characters:) And the chief Objects of the Mind are Univerſals.

But as the Mind, although it perceives not its *Individuality*, yet can by reaſon prove to herſelf that ſhe is ſome one *Numerical* or *Individual* Mind, ſo ſhe can by the ſame means, although ſhe by inward ſenſe perceives not where ſhe is, evince, notwithſtanding that ſhe is ſomewhere, from the general account of things, which have that of their own nature, that they are *extended*, *ſingular*, and *ſomewhere*. And beſides, *Velthuſius* himſelf does plainly grant, that from the Operations of Senſe and Imagination, we know our Mind to be in our Body. How then can we be ignorant that ſhe is *ſomewhere*, unleſs the Body itſelf be *nowhere*?

SECT.

## SECT. X.

*An Appeal to the internal ſenſe of the Mind, if ſhe be not environed with a certain infinite Extenſion; together with an excitation of the* Nullibiſt *out of his Dream, by the ſound of Trumpeters ſurrounding him.*

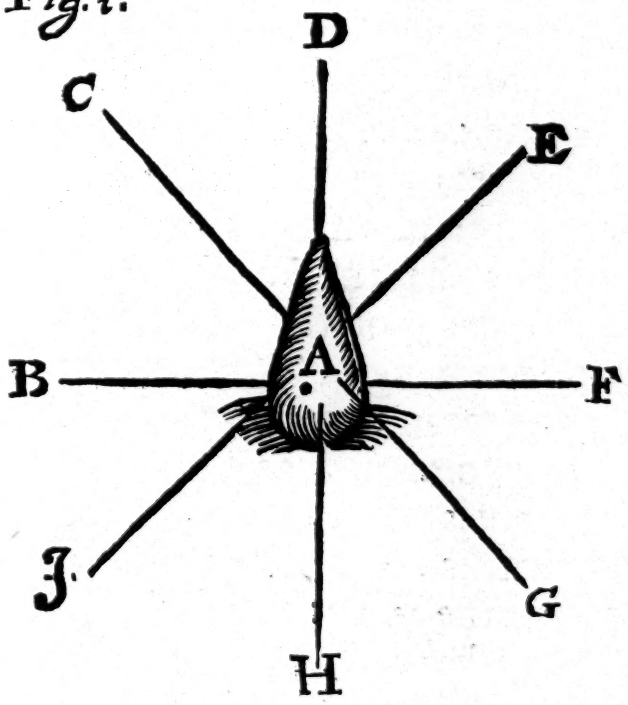
THe Reaſons of the *Nullibiſts* whereby they endeavour to maintain their Opinion, are ſufficiently enervated and ſubverted. Nor have we need of any Arguments to eſtabliſh the contrary Doctine. I will onely deſire by the by, that he that thinks his *Mind* is *nowhere*, would make trial of his faculty of Thinking; and when he has abſtracted himſelf from all thought or ſenſe of his *Body*, and fixed his *Mind* onely on an Idea of an indefinite or *infinite Extenſion*, and alſo perceives himſelf to be ſome *particular cogitant Being*, let him make trial, I ſay, whether he can any way avoid it, but he muſt at the ſame time perceive that he is *ſomewhere*, namely, within this *immenſe Extenſion*, and that he is environ'd round about with it. Verily, I muſt ingenuouſly confeſs, that I cannot conceive otherwiſe, and that I cannot but conceive an Idea of a certain *Extenſion infinite and immovable*, and of *neceſſary* and *actual Exiſtence*: Which I

moſt clearly deprehend, not to have been drawn in by the outward ſenſe, but to be innate and eſſentially inherent in the Mind itſelf; and ſo to be the genuine *object* not of *Imagination*, but of *Intellect*; and that it is but perverſly and without all judgment determined by the *Nullibiſts*, or *Carteſians*, that whatever is extended, is alſo φανταστόν τι or the *Object of Imagination*; When notwithſtanding there is nothing *imaginable*, or the Object of Imagination, which is not *ſenſible*: For all Phantaſms are drawn from the ſenſes. But this *infinite Extenſion* has no more to do with things that are *ſenſible* and fall under *Imagination*, than that which is moſt *Incorporeal*. But of this haply it will be more opportune to ſpeak elſewhere.

In the mean time I will ſubjoyn onely one Argument, whereby I may manifeſtly evince that the Mind of man is ſomewhere, and then I will betake my ſelf to the diſcuſſing of the Opinion of the *Holenmerians*. Briefly therefore let us ſuppoſe ſome one environed with a Ring of Trumpeters, and that they all at the ſame time ſound their Trumpets. Let us now ſee if the circumſonant clangor of thoſe ſurrounding Trumpets ſounding from all ſides will awake theſe *Nullibiſts* out of their Lethargick Dream. And let us ſuppoſe, which they will willingly concede, that the *Conarion* or *Glandula Pinealis*, A, is the ſeat of the common

mon ſenſe, to which at length all the motions from external Objects arrive. Nor is it any matter whether it be this *Conarion*, or ſome other part of the Brain, or of what is contained in the Brain: But let the *Conarion*, at leaſt for this bout, ſupply the place of that matter which is the common *Senſorium* of the Soul.

*Fig. 1.*




And whenas it is ſuppoſed to be ſurrounded with Eight Trumpeters, let there be Eight Lines drawn from them, namely, from B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I; I ſay that the clangour or ſound of every Trumpet is carried from the Ring of the Trumpeters to the extream part

of every one of thoſe Lines, and all thoſe ſounds are heard as coming from the Ring B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, and perceived in the *Conarion* A; and that the perception is in that part to which all the Lines of motion, as to a common Centre, do concur; and therefore the extream parts of them, and the *perceptions* of the Clangours or Sounds, are in the middle of the Ring of Trumpeters, *viz.* where the *Conarion* is: Wherefore the *Percipient* itſelf, namely the Soul, is in the midſt of this Ring as well as the *Conarion*, and therefore is *ſomewhere*. Aſſuredly he that denies that he conceives the force of this Demonſtration, and acknowledges that the *Perception* indeed is at the extream parts of the ſaid Lines, and in the middle of the Ring of Trumpeters, but contends in the mean time that the *Mind* herſelf is not there, foraſmuch as ſhe is *nowhere*; this man certainly is either delirant and crazed, or elſe plays tricks, and ſlimly and obliquely inſinuates that the *perception* which is made in the *Conarion* is to be attributed to the *Conarion* itſelf; and that the *Mind*, ſo far as it is conceived to be an *Incorporeal Subſtance*, is to be exterminated out of the Univerſe, as an uſeleſs Figment and Chimæra.

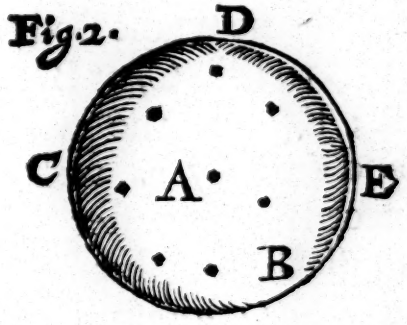
SECT.

## SECT. XI.

*The Explication of the Opinion of the* Holenmerians, *together with their Two Reaſons thereof propoſed.*

AND thus much of the Opinion of the *Nullibiſts*. Let us now examine the Opinion of the *Holenmerians*, whoſe Explication is thus: Let there be what Body you pleaſe, ſuppoſe C, D, E, which the Soul or a Spirit may poſſeſs and penetrate. The *Holenmerians* affirm, that the whole Soul or Spirit does occupy and poſſeſs the whole Body C, D, E, by its Eſſence; and that it is alſo wholly or all of it in every part or point of the ſaid Body C, D, E, as in A, for example, and in B, and the reſt of the leaſt parts or points of it. This is a brief and clear Explication of their Opinion.

Fig. 2.




But the Reaſons that induce them to embrace it, and ſo ſtiffly to maintain it, are theſe two onely, or at leaſt chiefly, as much as reſpects the *Holenmeriſm* of *Spirits*. The firſt is, That whereas they grant that the whole

Soul does pervade and poſſeſs the whole Body, they thought it would thence follow that the Soul would be *diviſible*, unleſs they ſhould correct again this Aſſertion of theirs, by ſaying, that it was yet ſo in the *whole* Body, that it was *totally* in the mean time in *every part* thereof: For thus they thought themſelves ſure, that the *Soul* could not thence be argued in any ſort *diviſible*, or *corporeal*, but ſtill remain purely *ſpiritual*.

Their other Reaſon is, That from hence it might be eaſily underſtood, how the Soul being in the whole Body C, D, E, whatever happens to it in C, or B, it preſently perceives it in A; Becauſe the whole Soul being perfectly and entirely as well in C, or B, as in A, it is neceſſary that after what faſhion ſoever C or B is affected, A ſhould be affected after the ſame manner; foraſmuch as it is entirely and perfectly one and the ſame thing, *viz.* the whole Soul, as well in C or B, as in A. And from hence is that vulgar ſaying in the Schools, *That if the Eye were in the Foot, the Soul would ſee in the Foot.*

SECT.

## SECT. XII.

*The Examination of the Opinion of the* Holenmerians.

BUt now, according to our cuſtome, let us weigh and examine all theſe things in a free and juſt Balance. In this therefore that they aſſert, that the whole Soul is in the whole Body, and is all of it penetrated of the Soul by her *Eſſence*, and therefore ſeem willingly to acknowledge a certain *eſſential amplitude* of the *Soul*; in this, I ſay, they come near to us, who contend there is a certain *Metaphyſical* and *Eſſential Extenſion* in all *Spirits*, but ſuch as is ἀμεγέθης καὶ ἀμερὴς, *devoid of bulk or parts*, as *Ariſtotle* defines of his *ſeparate ſubſtances*: For there is no magnitude or bulk which may not be *phyſically* divided, nor any *parts* properly where there is no ſuch diviſion. Whence the *Metaphyſical Extenſion* of *Spirits*, is rightly underſtood not to be capable of either *bulk* or *parts*. And in that ſence it has *no parts*, it cannot juſtly be ſaid to be a *Whole*. In that therefore we plainly agree with the *Holenmerians*, that a Soul or Spirit may be ſaid by its Eſſence to penetrate and poſſeſs the *whole Body* C, D, E; but in this again we differ from them, that we dare not affirm that the *whole Spirit* or

or *whole Soul* does penetrate and poſſeſs the ſaid Body, becauſe that which has not *parts* cannot properly be called a *Whole*; though I will not over-ſtiffly contend, but that we may uſe that word for a more eaſie explication of our mind, according to that old trite Proverb, Αμαθέςερόν πως εἰπὲ καὶ σαφέςερον λέγε, *Speak a little more unlearnedly that thou mayeſt ſpeak more intelligibly or plainly.* But then we are to remember that we do not ſpeak *properly*, though more *accommodately* to the vulgar apprehenſion, but *improperly.*

But now when the *Holenmerians* add further, That the whole Soul is in every part or Phyſical point of the Body D, C, E, in the point A and B, and all the reſt of the points of which the Body D, C, E, does conſiſt, that ſeems an harſh expreſſion to me, and ſuch as may juſtly be deemed next door to an open Repugnancy and Contradiction: For when they ſay the whole Soul is in the whole Body D, C, E, if they underſtand the Eſſence of the Soul to be commenſurate, and as it were equal to the Body D, C, E, and yet at the ſame time, the whole Soul to be contained within the point A or B, it is manifeſt that they make one and the ſame thing many thouſand times greater or leſs than itſelf at the ſame time; which is impoſſible. But if they will affirm, that the *eſſential Amplitude* of the Soul is no bigger than what is con-

*See* Figure 2. *Sect.* 11.

contained within the Phyſical point A, or B; but that the *Eſſential Preſence* of the Soul is diffuſed through the whole Body D, C, E, the thing will ſucceed not a jot the better. For while they plainly profeſs that the whole Soul is in the point A, it is manifeſt that there remains nothing of the Soul which may be in the point B, which is diſtant from A: For it is as if one ſhould ſay, that there is nothing of the Soul which is not included within A; and yet in the ſame moment of time, that not onely ſomething of the Soul, (which perhaps might be a more gentle Repugnancy) but that the whole Soul is in B, as if the *whole* Soul were *totally* and *entirely* out of itſelf; which ſurely is impoſſible in any *ſingular* or *individual* thing. And as for *Univerſals*, they are not *Things*, but *Notions* we uſe in contemplating them.

Again, if the *Eſſential Amplitude* of the Soul is no greater than what may be contained within the limits of a Phyſical point, it cannot extend or exhibit its *Eſſential Preſence* through the whole Body, unleſs we imagine in it a ſtupendious velocity, ſuch as it may be carried with in one moment into all the parts of the Body, and ſo be preſent to them: Which when it is ſo hard to conceive in this ſcant *compages* of an humane Body, and in the Soul occupying in one moment every part thereof, What an outragious thing is it,

and

and utterly impoſſible to apprehend touching that Spirit which perpetually exhibits his *Eſſential Preſence* to the whole world, and whatever is beyond the world?

To which laſtly, you may add that this Hypotheſis of the *Holenmerians*, does neceſſarily make all *Spirits* the moſt *minute* things that can be conceived: For if the whole Spirit be in every Phyſical point, it is plain that the *Eſſential Amplitude* itſelf of the Spirit (which the two former Objections ſuppoſed) is not bigger than that Phyſical point in which it is, (which you may call, if you will, a *Phyſical Monad*) than which nothing is or can be ſmaller in univerſal Nature: Which if you refer to any *created Spirit*, it cannot but ſeem very ridiculous; but if to the *Majeſty* and *Amplitude* of the *divine Numen*, intolerable, that I may not ſay plainly reproachful and blaſphemous.

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## SECT. XIII.

*A Confutation of the firſt Reaſon of the* Holenmerians.

BUt now for the Reaſons for which the *Holenmerians* adhere to ſo abſurd an Opinion; verily they are ſuch as can no ways compenſate thoſe huge difficulties and repugnancies the Opinion itſelf labours under. For, for the firſt,

firſt, which ſo ſolicitouſly provides for the *Indiviſibility* of *Spirits*, it ſeems to me to undertake a charge either *Superfluous* or *Ineffectual*. *Superfluous*, if *Extenſion* can be without *Diviſibility*, as it is clearly demonſtrated it can, in that infinite immovable Extenſion diſtinct from the movable Matter, *Enchirid. Metaphyſ.* cap. 6, 7, 8. But *Ineffectual*, if all *Extenſion* be *diviſible*, and the *Eſſential Preſence* of a *Spirit* which pervades and is extended through the whole Body C, D, E, may for that very reaſon be *divided*; for ſo the *whole Eſſence* which occupies the whole Body C,D,E, will be divided into *parts*. No by no means, will you ſay, foraſmuch as it is wholly in every part of the Body.

Therefore it will be divided, if I may ſo ſpeak, into ſo many Totalities. But what Logical ear can bear a ſaying ſo abſurd and abhorrent from all reaſon, that a *Whole* ſhould not be divided into *parts* but into *Wholes*? But you will ſay at leaſt we ſhall have this granted us, that an *Eſſential Preſence* may be diſtributed or divided according to ſo many diſtinctly cited *Totalities* which occupy at once the whole Body C, D, E, Yes verily, this ſhall be granted you, after you have demonſtrated that a *Spirit* not bigger than a *Phyſical Monad* can occupy in the ſame inſtant all the parts of the Body C, D, E; but upon this condition, that you acknowledge not ſundry *Totalities*, but one onely *total Eſſence*; though the leaſt that can be

be imagined, can occupy that whole ſpace, and when there is need, occupy, in an inſtant, an infinite one: Which the *Holenmerians* muſt of neceſſity hold touching the Divine Eſſence, becauſe according to their Opinion taken in the ſecond ſence, (which pinches the whole Eſſence of a Spirit into the ſmalleſt point) the Divine Eſſence itſelf is not bigger than any *Phyſical Monad*. From whence it is apparent the three Objections which we brought in the beginning do again recur here, and utterly overwhelm the firſt reaſon of the *Holenmerians*: So that the remedy is far more intolerable than the diſeaſe.

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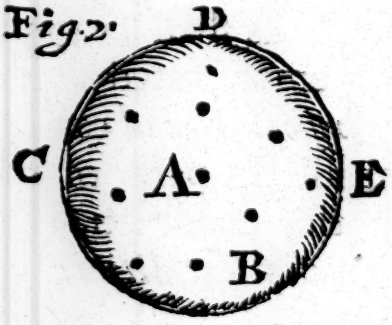
## SECT. XIV.

*A Confutation of the ſecond Reaſon of the* Holenmerians.

AND truly the other reaſon which from this *Holenmeriſm* of Spirits pretends a more eaſie way of conceiving how it comes to paſs that the Soul, ſuppoſe in A, can perceive what happens to it in C, or B, and altogether in the ſame circumſtances as if itſelf

Fig. 2.



ſelf were perfectly and entirely in C, or B, when yet it is in A; although at firſt ſhew this ſeems very plauſible, yet if we look throughly into it, we ſhall find it far enough from performing what it ſo fairly promiſes. For beſides that nothing is more difficult or rather impoſſible to conceive, than that an Eſſence not bigger than a Phyſical point ſhould occupy and poſſeſs the whole Body of a man at the ſame inſtant, this Hypotheſis is moreover plainly contrary and repugnant to the very Laws of the Souls Perceptions: For Phyſicians and Anatomiſts with one conſent profeſs, that they have found by very ſolid experiments, that the Soul perceives onely within the Head, and that without the Head there is no perception: Which could by no means be, if the Soul herſelf were wholly in the point A, and the very ſelf-ſame Soul again wholly in the point B, and C, nor any where as to *Eſſential Amplitude* bigger than a *Phyſical Monad:* For hence it would follow, that one and the ſame thing would both perceive and not perceive at once; That it would perceive this or that Object, and yet perceive nothing at all; which is a perfect contradiction.

And from hence the falſity of that common ſaying is detected, That *if the Eye was in the Foot, the Soul would ſee in the Foot*; whenas it does not ſo much as ſee in thoſe Eyes which

it

it already hath, but ſomewhere within the Brain. Nor would the Soul by an Eye in the Foot ſee, unleſs by fitting Nerves, not unlike the Optick ones, continued from the Foot to the Head and Brain, where the Soul ſo far as *perceptive*, inhabiteth. In the other parts of the Body the Functions thereof are onely *vital.*

Again, ſuch is the nature of ſome perceptions of the Soul, that they are fitted for the moving of the Body; ſo that it is manifeſt that the very ſelf-ſame thing which perceives, has the power of moving and guiding of it; Which ſeems impoſſible to be done by this Soul, which, according to the Opinion of the *Holenmerians*, exceeds not the amplitude of a ſmall Phyſical point, as it may appear at firſt ſight to any one whoſe reaſon is not blinded with prejudice.

And laſtly, If it be lawful for the Mind of man to give her conjectures touching the Immortal *Genii*, (whether they be in Vehicles, or deſtitute of Vehicles) and touching their *Perceptions* and *Eſſential Preſences* whether inviſible or thoſe in which they are ſaid ſometimes to appear to mortal men, there is none ſurely that can admit that any of theſe things are competible to ſuch a Spirit as the *Holenmerians* deſcribe. For how can a *Metaphyſical Monad*, that is to ſay, a Spiritual ſubſtance not exceeding a Phyſical Monad in Amplitude,

tude, fill out an *Eſſential Preſence* bigger than a Phyſical Monad, unleſs it be by a very ſwift vibration of itſelf towards all parts; as Boys by a very ſwift moving of a Fire-ſtick, make a fiery Circle in the air by that quick motion. But that Spirits, deſtitute of Vehicles, ſhould have no greater *Eſſential Preſence* than what is occupied of a naked and unmoved *Metaphyſical Monad*, or exhibited thereby, ſeems ſo abſonous and ridiculous a ſpectacle to the Mind of man, that unleſs he be deprived of all ſagacity and ſenſibility of ſpirit, he cannot but abhor ſo idle an Opinion.

And as for thoſe *Eſſential Preſences*, according to which they ſometimes appear to men, at leaſt equalizing humane ſtature, how can a ſolitary *Metaphyſical Monad* form ſo great a part of Air or Æther into humane ſhape, or govern it being ſo formed? Or how can it perceive any external Object in this ſwift motion of itſelf, and quick vibration, whereby this *Metaphyſical Monad* is underſtood of the *Holenmerians*, to be preſent in all the parts of its Vehicle at once? For there can be no perception of the external Object, unleſs the Object that is to be perceived act with ſome ſtay upon that which perceiveth. Nor if it could be perceived by this *Metaphyſical Monad* thus ſwiftly moved and vibrated towards all parts at once, would it be ſeen in one place, but in many places at once, and thoſe, as it may happen, very diſtant.

## SECT. XV.

*The egregious falſity of the Opinions of the* Holenmerians *and* Nullibiſts, *as alſo their uſeleſneſs for any Philoſophical ends.*

BUt verily, I am aſhamed to waſte ſo much time in refuting ſuch mere trifles and dotages which indeed are ſuch, (that I mean of the *Nullibiſts*, as well as this other of the *Holenmerians*) that we may very well wonder how ſuch diſtorted and ſtrained conceits could ever enter into the minds of men, or by what artifice they have ſo ſpread themſelves in the World; but that the prejudices and enchantments of Superſtition and ſtupid admiration of mens Perſons are ſo ſtrong, that they may utterly blind the minds of men, and charm them into dotage. But if any one, all prejudice and parts-taking being laid aſide, will attentively conſider the thing as it is, he ſhall clearly perceive and acknowledge, unleſs all belief is to be denied to the humane faculties, that the Opinions of the *Nullibiſts* and *Holenmerians*, touching *Incorporeal Beings*, are miſerably *falſe*; and not that onely, but as to any Philoſophical purpoſe altogether *uſeleſs*. Foraſmuch as out of neither Hypotheſis there does appear any greater facility of con-

conceiving how the *Mind* of man, or any other *Spirit*, performs thoſe Functions of *Perception* and of *Moving* of *Bodies*, from their being ſuppoſed *nowhere*, than from their being ſuppoſed *ſomewhere*; or from ſuppoſing them *wholly in every part* of a Body, than from ſuppoſing them onely, to occupie the whole Body by an *Eſſential* or *Metaphyſical Extenſion*; but on the contrary, that both the Hypotheſes do entangle and involve the Doctrine of *Incorporeal Beings* with greater Difficulties and Repugnancies.

Wherefore, there being neither *Truth* nor *Uſefulneſs* in the Opinions of the *Holenmerians* and *Nullibiſts*, I hope it will offend no man if we ſend them quite packing from our Philoſophations touching an *Incorporeal Being* or *Spirit*, in our delivering the true Idea or Notion thereof.

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## SECT. XVI.

*That thoſe that contend that the Notion of a* Spirit *is ſo difficult and imperſcrutable, do not this becauſe they are of a more ſharp and piercing Judgement than others, but of a Genius more rude and plebeian.*

NOw I have ſo ſucceſsfully removed and diſſipated thoſe two vaſt Mounds of

Night and Miſtineſs, that lay upon the nature of *Incorporeal Beings*, and obſcured it with ſuch groſs darkneſs; it remains that we open and illuſtrate the true and genuine nature of them in general, and propoſe ſuch a definition of a *Spirit*, as will exhibit no difficulty to a mind rightly prepared and freed from prejudice: For the *nature* of a *Spirit* is very eaſily underſtood, provided one rightly and skilfully ſhew the way to the Learner, and form to him true Notions of the thing. Inſomuch that I have often wondred at the ſuperſtitious conſternation of mind in thoſe men, (or the profaneneſs of their tempers and innate averſation from the contemplation of Divine things) who if by chance they hear any one profeſſing that he can with ſufficient clearneſs and diſtinctneſs conceive the nature of a *Spirit*, and communicate the Notion to others, they are preſently aſtartled and amazed at the ſaying, and ſtraightway accuſe the man of intolerable levity or arrogancy, as thinking him to aſſume ſo much to himſelf, and to promiſe to others, as no humane Wit, furniſhed with never ſo much knowledge, can ever perform. And this I underſtand even of ſuch men who yet readily acknowledge the *Exiſtence* of *Spirits*.

But as for thoſe that deny their *Exiſtence*, whoever profeſſes this skill to them, verily he cannot but appear a man above all meaſure

vain

vain and doting. But I hope that I ſhall ſo bring it about, that no man ſhall appear more ſtupid and doting, no man more unskilful and ignorant, than he that eſteems the clear Notion of a Spirit ſo hopeleſs and deſperate an attempt; and that I ſhall plainly detect, that this big and boaſtful profeſſion of their ignorance in theſe things does not proceed from hence, that they have any thing more a ſharp or diſcerning Judgment than other mortals, but that they have more groſs and weak parts, and a ſhallower Wit, and ſuch as comes neareſt to the ſuperſtition and ſtupidity of the rude vulgar, who eaſilier fall into admiration and aſtoniſhment, than pierce into the reaſons and notices of any difficult matter.

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## SECT. XVII.

*The Definition of* Body *in general, with ſo clear an Explication thereof, that even they that complain of the obſcurity of a* Spirit, *cannot but confeſs they perfectly underſtand the nature of* Body.

BUt now for thoſe that do thus deſpair of any true knowledge of the nature of a *Spirit*, I would entreat them to try the abilities of their wit in recognizing and throughly conſidering the nature of *Body* in general. And

let them ingenuously tell me whether they cannot but acknowledge this to be a clear and perspicuous definition thereof, *viz.* That *Body is Substance Material, of itself altogether destitute of all Perception, Life, and Motion.* Or thus: *Body is a Substance Material coalescent or accruing together into one, by vertue of some other thing, from whence that one by coalition, has or may have Life also, Perception and Motion.*

I doubt not but they will readily answer, that they understand all this (as to the terms) clearly and perfectly; nor would they doubt of the truth thereof, but that we deprive *Body* of all *Motion from itself*, as also of *Union*, *Life*, and *Perception*. But that it is *Substance*, that is, a Being subsistent by itself, not a *mode* of some Being, they cannot but very willingly admit, and that also it is a *material* Substance compounded of *physical Monads*, or at least of most *minute particles* of Matter, into which it is divisible; and because of their *Impenetrability*, impenetrable by any other Body. So that the Essential and Positive difference of a *Body* is, that it be *impenetrable*, and *Physically divisible* into parts: But that it is *extended*, that immediately belongs to it as it is a *Being*. Nor is there any reason why they should doubt of the other part of the *Differentia*, whenas it is solidly and fully proved in Philosophie, That *Matter* of its own nature, or in itself, is

endued

endued with no *Perception*, *Life*, nor *Motion*. And beſides, we are to remember that we here do not treat of the *Exiſtence* of things, but of their intelligible *Notion* and *Eſſence*.

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## SECT. XVIII.

*The perfect Definition of a* Spirit, *with a full Explication of its Nature through all Degrees.*

AND if the *Notion* or Eſſence is ſo eaſily underſtood in nature *Corporeal* or *Body*, I do not ſee but in the *Species* immediately oppoſite to *Body*, viz. *Spirit*, there may be found the ſame facility of being underſtood. Let us try therefore, and from the Law of *Oppoſites* let us define a *Spirit*, an *Immaterial Subſtance intrinſecally endued with Life and the faculty of Motion*. This ſlender and brief Definition that thus eaſily flows without any noiſe, does comprehend in general the whole nature of a *Spirit*; Which leſt by reaſon of its exility and brevity it may prove leſs perceptible to the Underſtanding, as a Spirit is to the ſight, I will ſubjoyn a more full Explication, that it may appear to all, that this Definition of a *Spirit* is nothing inferiour to the Definition of a *Body* as to clearneſs and perſpicuity. And that by this method which we

now fall upon, a full and perfect knowledge and understanding of the nature of a *Spirit* may be attained to.

Go to therefore, let us take notice through all the degrees of the *Definitum*, or *Thing defined*, what precise and immediate properties each of them contain, from whence at length a most distinct and perfect knowledge of the whole *Definitum* will discover itself. Let us begin then from the top of all, and first let us take notice that a Spirit is *Ens*, or a *Being*, and from this very same that it is a *Being*; that it is also *One*, that it is *True*, and that it is *Good*; which are the three acknowledged Properties of *Ens* in Metaphysicks, that it exists *sometime*, and *somewhere*, and is in some sort *extended*, as is shewn *Enchirid. Metaphys.* cap. 2. sect. 10. which three latter terms are plain of themselves. And as for the three former, that *One* signifies undistinguished or undivided in and from itself, but divided or distinguished from all other, and that *True* denotes the answerableness of the *thing* to its own proper *Idea*, and implies right *Matter* and *Form* duely conjoyned, and that lastly *Good* respects the fitness for the end in a large sence, so that it will take in that saying of Theologers, That God is his own End, are things vulgarly known to *Logicians* and *Metaphysicians*. That these Six are the immediate affections of Being, as Being is made apparent in the above-cited *Enchiridion*

*chiridion Metaphyſicum*; nor is it requiſite to repeat the ſame things here. Now every *Being* is either *Subſtance*, or the *Mode* of *Subſtance*, which ſome call *Accident*: But that a *Spirit* is not an *Accident* or *Mode* of Subſtance, all in a manner profeſs; and it is demonſtrable from manifold Arguments, that there are *Spirits* which are no ſuch *Accidents* or *Modes*; Which is made good in the ſaid *Enchiridion* and other Treatiſes of Dr. *H. M.*

Wherefore the ſecond Eſſential degree of a Spirit is, that it is *Subſtance*. From whence it is underſtood to ſubſiſt by itſelf, nor to want any other thing as a *Subject* (in which it may inhere, or of which it may be the *Mode* or *Accident*) for its ſubſiſting or exiſting.

The third and laſt Eſſential degree is, that it is *Immaterial*, according to which it immediately belongs to it, that it be a *Being* not onely *One*, but *one by itſelf*, or of its own intimate nature, and not by another; that is, That, though as it is a *Being* it is in ſome ſort *extended*, yet it is utterly *Indiviſible* and *Indiſcerpible* into real Phyſical parts. And moreover, That it can *penetrate* the *Matter*, and (which the *Matter* cannot do) penetrate things of its own kind; that is, paſs through Spiritual Subſtances. In which two Eſſential Attributes (as it ought to be in every perfect and legitimate Diſtribution of any Genius) it is fully and accurately contrary to its oppoſite *Species*, namely,

namely, to *Body*. As alſo in thoſe immediate Properties whereby it is underſtood to have *Life* intrinſecally in *itſelf*, and the faculty of *moving*; which in ſome ſence is true in all Spirits whatſoever, foraſmuch as *Life* is either *Vegetative*, *Senſitive*, or *Intellectual*. One whereof at leaſt every Spiritual Subſtance hath: as alſo the *faculty* of *moving*; inſomuch that every Spirit either moves itſelf by itſelf, or the Matter, or both, or at leaſt the Matter either mediately or immediately; or laſty, both ways. For ſo all things moved are moved by God, he being the Fountain of all Life and Motion.

## SECT. XIX.

*That from hence that the Deſinition of a* Body *is perſpicuous, the Definition of a* Spirit *is alſo neceſſarily perſpicuous.*

WHerefore I dare here appeal to the Judgment and Conſcience of any one that is not altogether illiterate and of a dull and obtuſe Wit, whether this *Notion* or Definition of a *Spirit* in general, is not as intelligible and perſpicuous, is not as clear and every way diſtinct as the Idea or *Notion* of a *Body*, or of any thing elſe whatſoever which the mind of man can contemplate in the whole compaſs of

of Nature. And whether he cannot as eaſily or rather with the ſame pains apprehend the nature of a *Spirit* as of *Body*, foraſmuch as they both agree in the immediate Genus to them, to wit *Subſtance*. And the *Differentiæ* do illuſtrate one another by their mutual oppoſition; inſomuch that it is impoſſible that one ſhould underſtand what is *Material* Subſtance, but he muſt therewith preſently underſtand what *Immaterial* Subſtance is, or what it is *not* to have *Life* and *Motion* of itſelf, but he muſt ſtraitway perceive what it is *to have both in itſelf*, or to be able to communicate them to others.

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## SECT. XX.

*Four Objections which from the perſpicuity of the terms of the Definition of a SPIRIT infer the Repugnancy of them one to another.*

NOr can I divine what may be here oppoſed, unleſs haply they may alledge ſuch things as theſe, That although they cannot deny but that all the *terms* of the *Definition* and *Explication* of them, are ſufficiently intelligible, if they be conſidered ſingle, yet if they be compared one with another they will mutually deſtroy one another. For this *Extenſion* which is mingled with, or inſerted into the

the nature of a *Spirit*, ſeems to take away the *Penetrability* and *Indiviſibility* thereof, as alſo its *faculty* of *thinking*, as its *Penetrability* likewiſe takes away its *power of moving any Bodies*.

I. Firſt, *Extenſion* takes away *Penetrability*; becauſe if one Extenſion penetrate another, of neceſſity either one of them is deſtroyed, or two equal Amplitudes entirely penetrating one another, are no bigger than either one of them taken ſingle, becauſe they are cloſed within the ſame limits.

II. Secondly, It takes away *Indiviſibility*; becauſe whatſoever is *extended* has *partes extra partes*, one part out of another, and therefore is *Diviſible*: For neither would it have parts, unleſs it could be divided into them. To which you may further add, that foraſmuch as the parts are *ſubſtantial*, nor depend one of another, it is clearly manifeſt that at leaſt by the Divine Power they may be ſeparate, and ſubſiſt ſeparate one from another.

III. Thirdly, *Extenſion* deprives a *Spirit* of the faculty of *thinking*, as depreſſing it down into the ſame order that Bodies are. And that there is no reaſon why an *extended Spirit* ſhould be more capable of *Perception* than *Matter* that is *extended*.

IV. Laſtly, *Penetrability* renders a *Spirit* unable to *move Matter*; becauſe, whenas by reaſon of this *Penetrability* it ſo eaſily ſlides through

through the Matter, it cannot conveniently be united with the Matter whereby it may move the ſame: For without ſome union or inherency (a *Spirit* being deſtitute of all *Impenetrability*) 'tis impoſſible it ſhould protrude the Matter towards any place.

The ſum of which Four difficulties tends to this, that we may underſtand, that though this Idea or *Notion* of a *Spirit* which we have exhibited be ſufficiently plain and explicate, and may be eaſily underſtood; yet from the very perſpicuity of the thing itſelf, it abundantly appears, that it is not the Idea of any *poſſible* thing, and much leſs of a thing *really exiſting*, whenas the parts thereof are ſo manifeſtly repugnant one to another.

## SECT. XXI.

*An Anſwer to the firſt of the Four Objections.*

I. BUt againſt as well the *Nullibiſts* as the *Hobbians*, who both of them contend that *Extenſion* and *Matter* is one and the ſame thing, we will prove that the Notion or Idea of a *Spirit* which we have produced, is a Notion of a thing *poſſible*. And as for the *Nullibiſts*, who think we ſo much indulge to corporeal Imagination in this our Opinion of the *Extenſion* of Spirits, I hope on the contrary, that

that I ſhall ſhew that it is onely from hence that the *Hobbians* and *Nullibiſts* have taken all *Amplitude* from *Spirits*, becauſe their Imagination is not ſufficiently defecated and depurated from the filth and unclean tinctures of *Corporeity*, or rather that they have their Mind over-much addicted and enſlaved to *Material* things, and ſo diſordered, that ſhe knows not how to expedite herſelf from groſs Corporeal Phantaſms.

From which Fountain have ſprung all thoſe difficulties whereby they endeavour to overwhelm this our *Notion* of a *Spirit*; as we ſhall manifeſtly demonſtrate by going through them all, and carefully perpending each of them. For it is to be imputed to their groſs Imagination, That from hence that two equal Amplitudes penetrate one another throughout, they conclude that either one of them muſt therewith periſh, or that they being both conjoyned together, are no bigger than either one of them taken ſingle. For this comes from hence that their mind is ſo illaqueated or limetwigged, as it were, with the Idea's and Properties of corporeal things, that they cannot but infect thoſe things alſo which have nothing corporeal in them with this material Tincture and Contagion, and ſo altogether confound this *Metaphyſical* Extenſion with that Extenſion which is *Phyſical*. I ſay, from this diſeaſe it is that the ſight of their mind is become ſo dull

and

and obtuſe, that they are not able to divide that common Attribute of a Being, I mean *Extenſion Metaphyſical* from *ſpecial* Extenſion and *Material*, and aſſign to *Spirits* their proper Extenſion, and leave to *Matter* hers. Nor according to that known method, whether Logical or Metaphyſical, by intellectual Abſtraction preſcind the *Generical* nature of *Extenſion* from the aboveſaid *Species* or kinds thereof. Nor laſtly, (which is another ſign of their obtuſeneſs and dulneſs) is their mind able to *penetrate* with that *Spiritual* Extenſion into the Extenſion *Material*; but like a ſtupid Beaſt ſtands lowing without, as if the mind itſelf were become wholly corporeal; and if any thing enter they believe it periſhes rather and is annihilated, than that two things can at the ſame time coexiſt together in the ſame *Ubi*. Which are Symptomes of a mind deſperately ſick of this Corporeal Malady of *Imaginati-on*, and not ſufficiently accuſtomed or exerciſed in the free Operations of the Intellectual Powers.

And that alſo proceeds from the ſame ſource, That ſuppoſing two Extenſions penetrating one another, and adequately occupying the ſame *Ubi*, they thus conjoyned are conceived not to be greater than either one of them taken by itſelf. For the reaſon of this miſtake is, that the *Mind* incraſſated and ſwayed down by the *Imagination*, cannot together with the *Spiritual*

*Spiritual* Extenſion penetrate into the *Material*, and follow it throughout, but onely places itſelf hard by, and ſtands without like a groſs ſtupid thing, and altogether Corporeal. For if ſhe could but, with the *Spiritual* Extenſion, inſinuate herſelf into the *Material*, and ſo conceive them both together as two really diſtinct Extenſions, it is impoſſible but that ſhe ſhould therewith conceive them ſo conjoyned into one *Ubi*, to be notwithſtanding not a jot leſs than when they are ſeparated and occupy an *Ubi* as big again: For the *Extenſion* in neither of them is diminiſhed, but their *Situation* onely changed. As it alſo ſometimes comes to paſs in one and the ſame Extenſion of ſome particular Spirits which can dilate and contract their Amplitude into a greater or leſſer *Ubi* without any Augmentation or Diminution of their Extenſion, but onely by the expanſion and retraction of it into another ſite.

SECT.

## SECT. XXII.

*That beſides thoſe THREE Dimenſions which belong to all extended things, a FOURTH alſo is to be admitted, which belongs properly to SPIRITS.*

AND that I may not diſſemble or conceal any thing, Although all *Material* things, conſidered in themſelves, have *three* Dimenſions onely; yet there muſt be admitted in Nature a *Fourth*, which fitly enough, I think, may be called *Eſſential Spiſſitude*; Which, though it moſt properly appertains to thoſe Spirits which can contract their Extenſion into a leſs *Ubi*; yet by an eaſie Analogie it may be referred alſo to Spirits penetrating as well the *Matter* as mutually *one another*: So that where-ever there are more Eſſences than one, or more of the ſame Eſſence in the ſame *Ubi* than is adequate to the Amplitude thereof, there this *Fourth* Dimenſion is to be acknowledged, which we call *Eſſential Spiſſitude*.

Which aſſuredly involves no greater repugnancy than what may ſeem at firſt view, to him that conſiders the thing leſs attentively, to be in the other *three* Dimenſions. Namely, unleſs one would conceive that a piece of Wax ſtretched out, ſuppoſe, to the length of an Ell,

and afterwards rolled together into the form of a Globe, loſes ſomething of its former Extenſion, by this its conglobation, he muſt confeſs that a Spirit, neither by the contraction of itſelf into a leſs ſpace has loſt any thing of its Extenſion or Eſſence, but as in the aboveſaid Wax the diminution of its Longitude is compenſated with the augmentation of its Latitude and Profundity; ſo in a Spirit contracting itſelf, that in like manner its Longitude, Latitude, and Profundity being leſſened, are compenſated by *Eſſential Spiſſitude*, which the Spirit acquires by this contraction of itſelf.

And in both caſes we are to remember that the *Site* is onely changed, but that the *Eſſence* and *Extenſion* are not at all impaired.

Verily theſe things by me are ſo perfectly every way perceived, ſo certain and tried, that I dare appeal to the mind of any one which is free from the morbid prejudices of *Imagination*, and challenge him to trie the ſtrength of his Intellectuals, whether he does not clearly perceive the thing to be ſo as I have defined, and that *two* equal Extenſions, adequately occupying the very ſame *Ubi*, be not *twice* as great as either of them alone, and that they are not cloſed with the ſame terms as the *Imagination* falſly ſuggeſts, but onely with equal.

Nor

Nor is there any need to heap up more words for the ſolving this firſt difficulty; whenas what has been briefly ſaid already abundantly ſufficeth for the penetrating their underſtanding who are prepoſſeſt with no prejudice: But for the piercing of theirs who are blinded with prejudices, infinite will not ſuffice.

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## SECT. XXIII.

*An Anſwer to the ſecond Objection, where the fundamental Errour of the* Nullibiſts, *viz. That whatſoever is extended is the Object of Imagination, is taken notice of.*

II. LEt us try now if we can diſpatch the ſecond difficulty with like ſucceſs, and ſee if it be not wholly to be aſcribed to *Imagination*, that an *Indiſcerpible Extenſion* ſeems to involve in it any contradiction. As if there could be no Extenſion which has not parts real and properly ſo called into which it may be actually divided, *viz.* for this reaſon, that that onely is *extended* which has *partes extra partes*, which being *ſubſtantial*, may be ſeparated one from another, and thus ſeparate ſubſiſt. This is the ſummary account of this difficulty, which nothing but corrupt *imagination* ſupporteth.

Now the firſt ſource or Fountain of this errour of the *Nullibiſts*, is this; That they make every thing that is *extended* the Object of the *Imagination*, and every Object of the Imagination *Corporeal*. The latter whereof undoubtedly is true, if it be taken in a right ſence; namely, if they underſtand ſuch a perception as is either ſimply and adequately drawn from external Objects; or by increaſing, diminiſhing, tranſpoſing, or transforming of parts (as in *Chimæra's* and *Hippocentaurs*) is compoſed of the ſame. I acknowledge all theſe Idea's, as they were ſometime ſome way Objects of *Senſation*, ſo to be the genuine Objects of *Imagination*, and the perception of theſe to be rightly termed the operation of Fancie, and that all theſe things that are thus repreſented, neceſſarily are to be look'd upon as *corporeal*, and conſequently as *actually diviſible*.

But that all *perception* of *Extenſion* is ſuch *Imagination*, that I confidently deny. Foraſmuch as there is an Idea of *infinite Extenſion* drawn or taken in from no external ſenſe, but is natural and Eſſential to the very faculty of perceiving; Which the mind can by no means pluck out of herſelf, nor caſt it away from her; but if ſhe will rouze herſelf up, and by earneſt and attentive thinking, fix her animadverſion thereon, ſhe will be conſtrained, whether ſhe will or no, to acknowledge, that

although

although the whole matter of the world were exterminated out of the Univerſe, there would notwithſtanding remain a certain ſubtile and *immaterial Extenſion* which has no agreement with that other *Material* one, in any thing, ſaving that it is extended, as being ſuch that it neither falls under ſenſe, nor is impenetrable, nor can be moved, nor diſcerped into parts; and that this Idea is not onely *poſſible*, but *neceſſary*, and ſuch as we do not at our pleaſure feign and invent, but do find it to be ſo innate and ingrafted in our mind, that we cannot by any force or artifice remove it thence. Which is a moſt certain demonſtration that all *Perception* of *Extenſion* is not *Imagination* properly ſo called.

Which in my Opinion ought to be eſteemed one of the chiefeſt and moſt fundamental Errours of the *Nullibiſts*, and to which eſpecially this difficulty is to be referred touching an *Indiſcerpible Extenſion*. For we ſee they confeſs their own guilt, namely, that their *Mind* is ſo corrupted by their *Imagination*, and ſo immerſed into it, that they can uſe no other faculty in the contemplation of any extended thing. And therefore when they make uſe of their *Imagination* inſtead of their *Intellect* in contemplating of it, they neceſſarily look upon it as an Object of *Imagination*; that is, as a *corporeal* thing, and *diſcerpible* into parts. For, as I noted above, the ſight of their mind by rea-

ſon of this *Morbus ὑλοειδὴς*, this *materious Diſeaſe*, if I may ſo ſpeak, is made ſo heavie and dull, that it cannot diſtinguiſh any *Extenſion* from that of *Matter*, as allowing it to appertain to another kind, nor by *Logical* or *Metaphyſical* Abſtraction preſcind it from either.

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## SECT. XXIV.

*That Extenſion as ſuch includes in it neither Diviſibility nor Impenetrability, neither Indiviſibility nor Penetrability, but is indifferent to either two of thoſe properties.*

AND from hence it is that becauſe a thing is *extended* they preſently imagine that it has *partes extra partes*, and is not *Ens unum per ſe & non per aliud*, a Being one by itſelf, and not by vertue of another, but ſo framed from the juxtapoſition of parts. Whenas the Idea of *Extenſion* preciſely conſidered in itſelf includes no ſuch thing, but onely a *trinal* Diſtance or *ſolid* Amplitude, that is to ſay, not *linear* onely and *ſuperficiary*, (if we may here uſe thoſe terms which properly belong to magnitude Mathematical) but every way running out and reaching towards every part. This Amplitude ſurely, and nothing beſide, does this bare and ſimple *Extenſion* include, not

not *Penetrability* nor *Impenetrability*, not *Diviſibility* nor yet *Indiviſibility*, but to either affections or properties, or if you will Eſſential Differences, namely, to *Diviſibility* and *Impenetrability*, or to *Penetrability* and *Indiviſibility*, if conſidered in itſelf, is it altogether indifferent, and may be determined to either two of them.

Wherefore, whereas we acknowledge that there is a certain *Extenſion* namely *Material*, which is endued with ſo ſtout and invincible an Ἀντιτυπία or *Impenetrability*, that it neceſſarily and by an inſuperable Renitencie expels and excludes all other Matter that occurs and attempts to penetrate it, nor ſuffers it at all to enter, although in the ſimple Idea of Extenſion, this marvellous virtue of it is not contained, but plainly omitted, as not at all belonging thereto immediately and of itſelf; why may we not as eaſily conceive that another Extenſion, namely, an *Immaterial* one, though Extenſion in itſelf include no ſuch thing, is of ſuch a nature, that it cannot by any other thing whether Material or Immaterial be diſcerped into parts; but by an indiſſoluble neceſſary and eſſential Tie be ſo united and held together with itſelf, that although it can penetrate all things and be penetrated by all things, yet nothing can ſo inſinuate itſelf into it as to disjoyn any thing of its Eſſence any where, or perforate it or make any hole

or Pore in it? that is, that I may ſpeak briefly, What hinders but there may be a *Being* that is immediately *One* of its own nature, and not held together into one by vertue of ſome other, either *Quality* or *Subſtance*? although every Being as a Being is *extended*, becauſe Extenſion in its preciſe Notion does not include any *Phyſical Diviſion*, but the Mind infected with *corporeal Imagination*, does falſly and unskilfully feign it to be neceſſarily there.

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## SECT. XXV.

*That every thing that is extended has not parts Phyſically diſcerpible, though Logically or Intellectually diviſible.*

FOr it is nothing which the *Nullibiſts* here alledge, while they ſay, That all Extenſion inferreth parts, and all parts Diviſion. For beſides that the firſt is falſe, foraſmuch as *Ens unum per ſe*, a Being one of itſelf or of its own immediate nature, although *extended* yet includes no *parts* in its Idea, but is conceived according to its proper Eſſence as a thing as ſimple as may be, and therefore compounded of no parts: We anſwer moreover, that it is not at all prejudicial to our cauſe though we ſhould grant that this *Metaphyſical* Extenſion of Spirits is alſo diviſible, but *Logically* onely, not

not *Phyſically*; that is to ſay, is not *diſcerpible*. But that one ſhould adjoyn a *Phyſical diviſibility* to ſuch an Extenſion, ſurely that muſt neceſſarily proceed from the impotencie of his *Imagination*, which his Mind cannot curb, nor ſeparate herſelf from the dreggs and corporeal foulneſſes thereof; and hence it is that ſhe tinctures and infects this pure and Spiritual Extenſion with Corporeal Properties. But that an extended thing may be divided *Logically* or *Intellectually*, when in the mean time it can by no means be diſcerped, it ſufficiently appears from hence, That a *Phyſical Monad* which has ſome Amplitude, though the leaſt that poſſible can be, is conceived thus to be divided in a *Line* conſiſting of any uneven number of Monads, which notwithſtanding the Intellect divides into two equal parts. And verily in a *Metaphyſical Monad*, ſuch as the *Holenmerians* conceit the Mind of man to be, and to poſſeſs in the mean time and occupie the whole *Body*, there may be here again made a *Logical* Diſtribution, ſuppoſe, *è ſubjectis*, as they call it, ſo far forth as this *Metaphyſical Monad*, or *Soul* of the *Holenmerians* is conceived to poſſeſs the Head, or Trunk, or Limbs of the Body. And yet no man is ſo delirant as to think that it follows from thence, that ſuch a Soul may be *diſcerped* into ſo many parts, and that the parts ſo diſcerped may ſubſiſt by themſelves.

SECT.

## SECT. XXVI.

*An Answer to the latter part of the Second Objection,* which inferreth the separabilitie of the parts of a *Substantial* Extensum, *from the said parts being* Substantial *and independent one of another.*

FRom which a sufficiently fit and accommodate Answer may be fetched to the latter part of this difficulty, namely, to that, which because the parts of Substance are *Substantial* and *independent* one of another, and *subsisting by themselves* ( as being *Substances* ) would infer that they can be *discerped*, at least by the Divine Power, and disjoyned, and being so disjoyned, subsist by themselves. Which I confess to be the chief edge or sting of the whole difficulty, and yet such as I hope I shall with ease file off or blunt. For first, I deny that in a thing that is *absolutely One* and *Simple* as a Spirit is, there are any *Physical* parts, or parts properly so called, but that they are onely falsly feigned and fancied in it, by the impure Imagination. But that the Mind it self being sufficiently defecated and purged from the impure dreggs of Fancie, although from some extrinsecal respect she may consider a Spirit as having parts, yet at the very same

ſame time does ſhe in herſelf, with cloſe attention, obſerve and note, that *ſuch* an *Extenſion* of itſelf has none. And therefore whenas it has no parts it is plain it has no *ſubſtantial* parts, nor *independent* one of another, nor ſubſiſtent of themſelves.

And then as much as concerns thoſe parts which the ſtupid and impotent *Imagination* fancieth in a Spirit, it does not follow from thence, becauſe they are *Subſtantial*, that they may *ſubſiſt ſeparate* by themſelves. For a thing to *ſubſiſt by itſelf*, onely ſignifies ſo to ſubſiſt, that it wants not the Prop of ſome other *Subject* in which it may inhere as *Accidents* do. So that the parts of a *Spirit* may be ſaid to ſubſiſt by themſelves though they cannot ſubſiſt ſeparate, and ſo be ſubſtance ſtill.

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SECT.

## SECT. XXVII.

*That the* mutual Independencie *of the parts of an extended Subſtance may be underſtood in a* twofold ſence; *with an Anſwer thereto, taken in the firſt ſence thereof.*

BUt what they mean by that *mutual Independencie* of parts I do not fully underſtand: But I ſufficiently conceive that one of theſe two things muſt be hinted thereby, *viz.* Either that they are not *mutual* and effectual *cauſes* to one another of their *Exiſting*, or that their Exiſtence is underſtood to be connected by *no neceſſary condition at all.*

And as for the former ſenſe, I willingly confeſs thoſe parts which they fancie in a Spirit are not mutual cauſes of one anothers Exiſtence; but ſo, that in the mean time I do moſt firmly deny, that it will thence follow that they may be diſcerped, and thus diſcerpt, be ſeparately conſerved, no more than the Intelligible parts of a *Phyſical Monad* which is divided into two by our Reaſon or Intellect; which ſurely are no mutual cauſes of one anothers Exiſtence: or the Members of the Diſtribution of a *Metaphyſical Monad* according to the Doctrine of the *Holenmerians* (*viz.* The Soul totally being in every part of the Body) which

which no man in his wits can ever hope that they may be diſcerped, although the ſaid Members of the diviſion are not the mutual cauſes of one anothers Exiſtence: For they are but one and the ſame Soul which is not the cauſe of itſelf, but was wholly and entirely cauſed by God.

But you will ſay that there is here manifeſtly a reaſon extant and apparent why theſe Members of the Diſtribution cannot be diſcerped, and diſcerpt ſeparately conſerved, becauſe one and the ſame indiviſible Monad occurs in every Member of the Diſtribution, which therefore ſince it is a ſingle one, it is impoſſible it ſhould be diſcerped from itſelf. To which I on the other ſide anſwer, That it is as manifeſtly extant and apparent how frivolouſly therefore and ineptly Arguments are drawn from *Logical* or Intellectual Diviſions, for the concluding a real ſeparability of parts. And I add further, That as that fictitious *Metaphyſical Monad* cannot be diſcerped or pluckt in pieces from itſelf, no more can any real Spirit, becauſe it is a thing *moſt ſimple* and *moſt abſolutely One*, and which a *pure Mind* darkened and poſſeſſed with no prejudices of *Imagination* does acknowledge no *real* parts at all to be in. For ſo it would *ipſo facto* be a *compound* Thing.

SECT.

## SECT. XXVIII.

*An Answer to the Independency of parts taken in the second sence.*

FRom whence an easie entrance is made to the answering this difficulty understood in the second sence of the *mutual Independency* of the parts of a Spirit, whereby their coexistence and union are understood to be connected by *no necessary* Law or Condition. For that this is false, I do most constantly affirm without all demur: For the coexistences of the parts, as they call them, of a Spirit, are connected by a Law or Condition *absolutely necessary* and plainly *essential*; Forasmuch as a Spirit is a *most simple* Being, or a Being *unum per se & non per aliud*; that is, *one of itself or of its own nature immediately so*, and not by another either *Substance* or *Quality*. For none of those parts, as the *Nullibists* call them, can exist but upon this condition, that all jointly and unitedly exist together; which Condition or Law is contained in the very Idea or nature of every *Spirit*. Whence it cannot be created or any way produced unless upon this condition, that all its parts be inseparably and indiscerpibly one; as neither a Rectangle Triangle, unless upon this condi-

condition, that the powers of the *Cathetus* and *Baſis*, be equal to the power of the *Hypotenuſa*. Whence the *Indiſcerpibility* of a *Spirit* cannot be removed from it, no not *virtute Divina*, as the Schoolmen ſpeak, no more than the above-ſaid Property be disjoyned from a Rectangle Triangle. Out of all which I hope it is at length abundantly clear, that the *Extenſion* of a Spirit does not at all hinder the *Indiſcerpibility* thereof.

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## SECT. XXIX.

*An Anſwer to the third Objection touching the* Imperceptivity *of an extended Subſtance,* viz. That whatever is, is extended, *and that the NULLIBISTS and HOLENMERIANS themſelves cannot give a Reaſon of the* perceptive *Faculty in Spirits, from their Hypotheſes.*

III. NOr is it any lett (which is the third thing) to the faculty of *Perceiving* and *Thinking* in *Spirits:* For we do not thruſt down a *Spirit* by attributing *Extenſion* to it, into the rank of *Corporeal Beings*, foraſmuch as there is nothing in all Nature which is not in ſome ſenſe *extended*. For whatever of Eſſence there is in any thing, it either is or may be actually preſent to ſome part of the matter,

ter, and therefore it must either be *extended* or be contracted to the narrowness of a *point*, and be a mere *nothing*. For, as for the *Nullibists* and *Holenmerians*, the Opinions of them both are above utterly routed by me, and quite subverted and overturned from the very root, that no man may seek subterfuges and lurking holes there. Wherefore there is a necessity that something that is *extended* have *Cogitation* and *Perception* in it, or else there will be nothing left that has.

But for that which this Objection further urges, that there occurrs no reason why an *extended Spirit* should be more capable of Perception than *extended Matter*, it is verily, in my judgment, a very unlearned and unskilful argutation. For we do not take all this pains in demonstrating the *Extension* of a *Spirit*, that thence we might fetch out a reason or account of its faculty of perceiving; but that it may be conceived to be some real Being and true Substance, and not a vain Figment, such as is every thing that has no Amplitude and is in no sort *extended*.

But those that so stickle and sweat for the proving their Opinion, that a Spirit is *nowhere*, or is *totally* in every part of that *Ubi* it occupies, they are plainly engaged of all right, clearly and distinctly to render a reason out of their *Hypothesis* of the *Perceptive faculty* that is acknowledged in *Spirits*, Namely that they plainly

plainly and preciſely deduce from hence, becauſe a thing is *nowhere* or *totally* in every part of the *Vbi* it occupies, that it is neceſſarily endued with a faculty of *perceiving* and *thinking*; ſo that the reaſon of the conjunction of *properties* with the *Subject*, may be clearly thence underſtood.

Which notwithſtanding I am very confident, they can never perform; And that *Perception* and *Cogitation* are the *immediate* Attributes of ſome Subſtance; and that therefore, as that Rule of Prudence, *Enchirid. Ethic.* lib. 3. cap. 4. ſect. 3. declares, no Phyſical reaſon thereof ought to be required, nor can be given, why they are in the Subject wherein they are found.

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## SECT. XXX.

*That from the* Generical *nature of any* Species, *no reaſon is to be fetcht of the conjunction of the* Eſſential Difference *with it*, it being immediate.

BUt ſo we are to conclude, that as *Subſtance* is immediately divided into *Material* and *Immaterial*, or into *Body* and *Spirit*, where no reaſon can be rendred from the Subſtance in *Spirit*, as it is Subſtance, why it ſhould be *Spirit* rather than *Body*; nor from Subſtance in

a *Body*, as it is Subſtance, why it ſhould be *Body* rather than *Spirit*; But theſe *Eſſential Differences* are immediately in the Subject in which they are found: So the caſe ſtands in the ſubdiviſion of *Spirit* into merely *Plaſtical* and *Perceptive*, ſuppoſing there are Spirits that are merely Plaſtical; and then of a *Perceptive Spirit* into merely *Senſitive* and *Intellectual*. For there can be no reaſon rendred touching a *Spirit* as a Spirit in a Spirit merely *Plaſtical*, why it is a Spirit merely *Plaſtical* rather than *Perceptive*: Nor in a *Perceptive Spirit*, why it is a *Perceptive* Spirit rather than *merely Plaſtical*. And laſtly, in a Perceptive Spirit *Intellectual*, why it is *Intellectual* rather than merely *Senſitive*; and in the *merely Senſitive* Spirit, why it is ſuch rather than *Intellectual*. But theſe *Eſſential Differences* are immediately in the *Subjects* in which they are found, and any Phyſical and intrinſecal reaſon ought not to be asked, nor can be given why they are in thoſe Subjects, as I noted a little above out of the ſaid *Enchiridion Ethicum*.

SECT.

## SECT. XXXI.

*That although the* Holenmerians *and* Nullibiſts *can give no reaſon, why that which perceives ſhould be* TOTALLY *in every part, or ſhould be* NOWHERE *rather than be in any ſort* extended *or* ſomewere, *yet there are reaſons obvious enough, why an extended Spirit, rather ſhould perceive than extended Matter.*

BUt however, though we cannot render a reaſon why this or that *Subſtance* as Subſtance, be a *Spirit* rather than *Body*; or why this or that *Spirit* be *Perceptive* rather than merely *Plaſtical*; yet as the reaſon is ſufficiently plain, why *Matter* or *Body* is a *Subſtance* rather than *Accident*, ſo it is manifeſt enough why that which *Perceives*, or is *Plaſtical*, ſhould be a *Spirit* rather than *Matter* or *Body*; which ſurely is much more than either the *Holenmerians* or *Nullibiſts* can vaunt of. For they can offer no reaſon why that which perceives ſhould rather be *nowhere* than ſomewhere; or *totally* in each part of the *Vbi* it does occupie, than otherwiſe, as may be underſtood from what we have ſaid above.

But now ſince the *Matter* or *Body* which is *diſcerpible* and *Impenetrable* is deſtitute of it-

ſelf of all Life and Motion, certainly it is conſonant to reaſon, that the *Species* oppoſite to *Body*, and which is conceived to be *Penetrable* and *Indiſcerpible*, ſhould be intrinſecally endued with Life in general and Motion. And whenas *Matter* is nothing elſe than a certain ſtupid and looſe *congeries* of *Phyſical Monads*, that the firſt and moſt immediate oppoſite degree in this *indiſcerpible* and *penetrable* Subſtance, which is called *Spirit*, ſhould be the faculty of Union, Motion, and Life, in which all the *Sympathies* and *Synenergies* which are found in the world may be conceived to conſiſt. From whence it ought not at all to ſeem ſtrange, that that which is *Plaſtical* ſhould be a Spirit.

And now as for *Perception* itſelf, undoubtedly all Mortals have either a certain confuſed preſage, or more preciſe and determinate Notion, that as that, whatever it is in which the above-ſaid *Sympathies* and *Synenergies* immediately are, ſo more eſpecially that to which belongs the faculty of *Perceiving* and *Thinking* is a thing of all things the moſt *ſubtile* and moſt *One* that may be.

Wherefore I appeal here to the Mind and judgment of any one, whether he can truly conceive any thing more *Subtile* or more *One* than the *Eſſence* or Notion of a *Spirit* as it is immediately diſtinguiſhed from *Matter*, and oppoſed thereto. For can there be any thing more

more *One* than what has no parts, into which it may be diſcerped? or more *Subtile* than what does not onely penetrate *Matter*, but *itſelf*, or at leaſt other Subſtances of its own kind? For a Spirit can penetrate a Spirit, though Matter cannot penetrate Matter.

There is therefore in the very *Eſſence* of a *Spirit*, although it be *Metaphyſically* extended, no obſcure reaſon why all the *Sympathies* and *Synenergies*, why all *Perceptions* and all manner of *Cogitations* ſhould be referred rather to it, by reaſon of the *Unity* and *Subtilty* of its nature, than to *Matter*, which is ſo craſs, that it is *impenetrable*; and is ſo far from *unity* of *Eſſence*, that it conſiſts of *juxtapoſited* parts. But I hope by this I have abundantly ſatisfied this third difficulty.

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## SECT. XXXII.

*An Anſwer to the fourth Objection as much as reſpects the* HOLENMERIANS *and* NULLIBISTS, *and all thoſe that acknowledge that the Matter is created of God.*

IV. LEt us go on therefore to the Fourth and laſt, which from the *Penetrability* of a *Spirit* concludes its unfitneſs for moving of Matter. For it cannot move Matter, but by

impelling it; nor can it impel it, becauſe it does ſo eaſily, without all reſiſtence, *penetrate* it. Here therefore again, *Imagination* plays her tricks, and meaſures the nature of a *Spirit* by the Laws of Matter, fancying a *Spirit* like ſome *Body* paſſing through an over-large or wide hole, where it cannot ſtick by reaſon of the laxneſs of the paſſage.

But in the mean time, it is to be noted, that neither the *Holenmerians* nor *Nullibiſts* can of right object this difficulty to us, whenas it is much more incredible that either a *Metaphyſical Monad*, or any *Eſſence* that is *nowhere*, ſhould be more fit for the moving Matter, than that which has ſome Amplitude, and is preſent alſo to the Matter that is to be moved. Wherefore we have now onely to do with ſuch Philoſophers as contend that the whole Univerſe conſiſts of Bodies onely: For as for thoſe that acknowledge there is a God, and that Matter was created by him, it is not hard for them to conceive, that there may be a certain faculty in the Soul, which in ſome manner, though very ſhadowiſhly, anſwers to that Power in God of creating Matter; Namely, that as God, though the moſt pure of all Spirits, yet creates Matter the moſt groſs of all things; ſo created Spirits themſelves may emit a certain *Material Vertue*, either ſpontaneouſly or naturally, by which they may intimately inhere in the Subject

ject Matter, and be ſufficiently cloſe united therewith. Which faculty of Spirits in the *Appendix to the Antidote againſt Atheiſm*, is called ὑλοπάθεια, the *Hylopathy* of *Spirits*, or a Power of affecting or being affected by the Matter. But I confeſs that Anſwer is leſs fitly uſed when we have to do with thoſe who deny the Creation of Matter, and much more when with thoſe that deny there is a God.

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## SECT. XXXIII.

*An Anſwer to thoſe that think there is nothing in the Univerſe but Matter or Body.*

WHerefore, whenas we have to do with ſuch infenſe Adverſaries, and ſo much eſtranged from all knowledge and acknowledgement of *Incorporeal Things*, verily we ought to behave ourſelves very cautiouſly and circumſpectly, and ſomething more preciſely to conſider the Title of the Queſtion, which is not, Whether we can accurately diſcern and declare the mode or way that a Spirit moves Matter, but whether its *Penetrability* is repugnant with this faculty of *moving* Matter. But now it is manifeſt, if a Spirit could be united and as it were cohere with the Matter, that it might eaſily move Matter; foraſmuch as

if there be at all any ſuch thing as a Spirit, it is according to the common Opinion of all men to be acknowledged the true Principle and Fountain of all Life and Motion. Wherefore the hinge of the whole controverſie turns upon this one pin, Whether it be repugnant that any *Spirit* ſhould be *united* and as it were *cohere* with *Matter*, or by whatever firmneſs or faſtening (whether permanent or momentaneous) be joyned therewith.

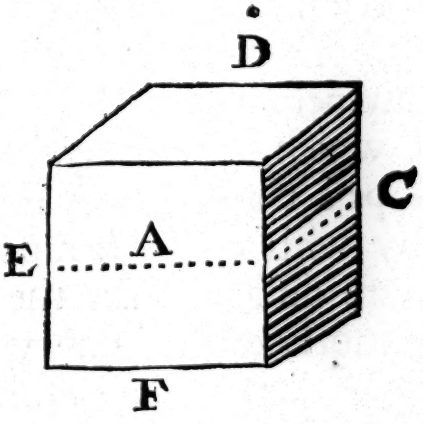
Now that it is not repugnant, I hope I ſhall clearly demonſtrate from hence, that the *unition* of *Spirit* with *Matter*, is as intelligible as the *unition* of one *part* of *Matter* with *another*. For that ought in reaſon to be held an Axiome firm and ſure, *That that is poſſible to be, in which there is found no greater* (not to ſay leſs) *difficulty of ſo being, than in that which we really find to be.* But we ſee one part of Matter really and actually united with another, and that in ſome Bodies with a firmneſs almoſt invincible, as in ſome Stones and Metals, which are held to be the hardeſt of all Bodies. But we will for the more fully underſtanding the buſineſs, ſuppoſe a *Body* abſolutely and perfectly *hard*, conſtituted of no particles, but the very *Phyſical Monads* themſelves, and without all pores.

I ask therefore here, By what vertue, or by what manner of way do the parts of ſo perfect a *Solid* cohere? Undoubtedly they can alledge

alledge nothing here beſides immediate *contact* and *reſt:* For if they fly to any other affections which are allied to Life and Senſe, they are more rightly and more eaſily underſtood to be in a *Spirit* than in *Matter*; and we will preſently pronounce that a *Spirit* may adhere to Matter by the ſame vertues.

But that the *parts* of *Matter* cohere by bare though immediate contact, ſeems as difficult, if not more difficult, than that a *Spirit* penetrating *Matter* ſhould cleave together into one with it: For the contact of the parts of Matter is every where onely ſuperficial, but one and the ſame *indiſcerpible Spirit* penetrates and poſſeſſes the whole Matter at once.

Nor need we fear at all, that it will not inhere becauſe it can ſo eaſily ſlide in, and therefore as it may ſeem, ſlide through, and paſs a-




way. For in a Body perfectly ſolid, ſuppoſe A, in which we will conceive ſome particular Super-

Superficies, ſuppoſe E, A, C; this Superficies E, A, C, is aſſuredly ſo glib and ſmooth, that there can be nothing imagined more ſmooth and glib: Wherefore why does not the upper part of this ſolid Cube C, D, E, by any the ſlighteſt impulſe ſlide upon the inferiour part of the Cube E, F, C, eſpecially if the inferiour part E, F, C, be held faſt, while the ſuperiour is impelled or thruſt forward? Surely this eaſineſs of the ſliding of Bodies perfectly ſmooth and glib, which touch immediately one another, their eaſineſs, I ſay, of ſliding one upon another, does ſeem at leaſt as neceſſary to our *Imagination*, as the proclivity of the paſſing of a Spirit through the Bodies it penetrates. Wherefore if two parts of Matter, ſuppoſe E, D, C, and E, F, C, which our Imagination doth moſt urgently ſuggeſt to us that they will always with the leaſt impulſe ſlide one upon another, do yet notwithſtanding adhere to one another with a moſt firm and almoſt invincible union, why may not then a Spirit, which our *Imagination* ſuſpects will ſo eaſily paſs through any Body, be united to a Body with equal firmneſs? whenas this is not more difficult than the other, yea rather much more eaſie if one would conſider the thing as it is, laying aſide all prejudice. But now ſince the *Penetrability* of a Spirit is not repugnant with its *union* with *Matter*, it is manifeſt that its faculty of *moving*

*ving Body* is not at all repugnant with its *Penetrability*. Which is the thing that was to be demonſtrated.

But it half repents me that I have with ſo great preparation and pomp attacked ſo ſmall a difficulty, and have ſtriven ſo long with mere Eluſions and preſtigious Juggles of the *Imagination*, (which caſts ſuch a Miſt of fictitious Repugnancies on the true Idea of a Spirit) as with ſo many Phantomes and Spectres of an unquiet Night. But in the mean time I have made it abundantly manifeſt that there are no other Contradictions or Repugnancies in this our Notion of a Spirit, than what the minds of our Adverſaries, polluted with the impure dregs of *Imagination*, and unable to abſtract *Metaphyſical Extenſion* from *Corporeal* affections, do foully and ſlovenly clart upon it, and that this Idea lookt upon in itſelf does clearly appear to be a Notion at leaſt of a thing *Poſſible*; which is all that we drive at in this place.

## SECT. XXXIV.

*How far the Notion of a* Spirit *here defended is countenanced and confirmed by the common ſuffrage of all Adverſaries.*

AND that it may appear more plauſible, we will not omit in the laſt place to take notice, how far it is countenanced and confirmed by the common ſuffrage of our Adverſaries: For the *Hobbians*, and whatever other Philoſophers elſe of the ſame ſtamp, do plainly aſſent to us in this, That whatſoever really is, is of neceſſity *extended*. But that they hence infer that there is nothing in Nature but what is *Corporeal*, that truly they do very unskilfully and inconſequently collect, they by ſome weakneſs or morbidneſs of mind tumbling into ſo foul an errour. For it is impoſſible that the mind of man, unleſs it were laden and polluted with the dregs and droſs of Corporeal *Imagination*, ſhould ſuffer itſelf to ſink into ſuch a groſs and dirty Opinion.

But that every thing that is, is extended, the *Nullibiſts* alſo themſelves ſeem to me to be near the very point of acknowledging it for true and certain. For they do not diſſemble it, but that if a *Spirit* be *ſomewhere*, it neceſſarily follows that it is alſo *extended*. And they moreover

over grant, that by its *Operation* it is preſent to or in the Matter, and that the *Eſſence* of a *Spirit* is not *ſeparated* from its *Operations*.

But that a thing ſhould *be*, and yet not be *any where* in the whole Univerſe, is ſo wild and mad a vote, and ſo abſonous and abhorrent from all reaſon, that it cannot be ſaid by any man in his wits, unleſs by way of ſport or ſome ſlim jeſt, as I have intimated above; Whence their caſe is the more to be pitied, who captivated and blinded with admiration of the chief Author of ſo abſurd an Opinion, do ſolemnly and ſeriouſly embrace, and diligently endeavour to poliſh the ſame.

And laſtly, as for the *Holenmerians*, thoſe of them who are more cautious and conſiderate, do ſo explain their Opinion, that it ſcarce ſeems to differ an hairs breadth from ours. For though they affirm that the Soul is in every part, yet they ſay they underſtand it not of the *Quantity* or *Extenſion* of the Soul, whereby it occupies the whole Body, but of the *perfection* of its *Eſſence* and *Vertue*: Which however true it may be of the *Soul*, it is undoubtedly moſt true of the *Divine Numen*, whoſe Life and Eſſence is moſt perfect and moſt full every where, as being ſuch as every where contains *infinite Goodneſs*, *Wiſdom*, and *Power*.

Thus we ſee that this Idea or Notion of a Spirit which is here exhibited to the world,

is

is not onely *poſſible* in itſelf, but very *plauſible* and *unexceptionable*, and ſuch as all parties, if they be rightly underſtood, will be found whether they will or no to contribute to the diſcovery of the truth and ſolidity thereof. And therefore is ſuch as will not unuſefully nor unſeaſonably conclude this Firſt Part of *Saduciſmus Triumphatus*, which treats of the *Poſſibility* of *Apparitions* and *Witchcraft*, but make the way more eaſie to the acknowledgement of the force of the Arguments of the Second Part, *viz.* The many *Relations* that are produced to prove the *Actual Exiſtence* of Spirits and Apparitions.

THE